MY NEIGHBOR THE WORKING MAN

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COMPLIMENTS

OF

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MY NEIGHBOR THE WORKINGMAN

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AFFECTIONATELY AND GRATEFULLY
I DEDICATE THIS BOOK
TO MY WIFE

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PREFACE

I HAVE written this book in no spirit of antagonism to the American workingman. I have always looked upon him, when he has been a true American, as the vertebral column of the republic. I know him and have lived with him. I have been a workingman and know his thoughts. I have been with him from the field to the forest. I have rounded up cattle with him in the Far West, on the back of a mustang, before the cowboy was known as a distinct race, have rolled a truck on the deck of a steamer, and driven a stage. I have been through the whole gamut of the workingman, omitting the saloon and its kindred precincts. I have been pastor in the greatest city of the land, and known both the capitalist and the workingman there, both of whom were in my congregation. For more than a quarter of a century I have been a college president, and have raised many thousands of dollars to help the workingman's sons and daughters through college, and there are no better students than they.

I have not written, therefore, as a theorist outside of my subject, nor as one unfriendly to the men whom I discuss. I am in hearty sympathy with them from the man who labors with the pick and shovel to the skilled mechanic. There is no better

citizen than the true, loyal, unperverted American workingman. He is instinctively loyal. He is intelligent. He knows his country and is proud of it. He looks upon his vote as a sacred obligation, and no man has more bravely responded to his country's call in war. It is only when he permits himself to follow the enemies of his country, the alien leaders who have insinuated themselves into his counsels, that he forgets that his first duty is to his land. These blind guides have spoiled his unions by plotting to use them for their selfish purposes. It will not be long before these perilous leaders will make an open political declaration, more dangerous than anything of the kind we have had. I venture to talk with my neighbors plainly, as their friend, about their mistakes and the dangers to their country and to their homes and to their employment.

If it may be thought that I have used severe language in characterizing the workingman's enemy, the destructive socialist, the obtrusive and patronizing leader, and the cowardly assassin of innocent men and women and children, the bomb-planter, incendiary, and murderer, I have no apology to make. They are unrepentant and boast their denial of God and their purpose to destroy all government of men. There ought to be one common and universal execration that shall never cease until these loathsome foes of humanity are forever exterminated. Public sentiment should leave no room for the destructive socialist in our country.

PREFACE

I have only to call the attention of the readers of this book to the events which have followed since it was put into the hands of the publishers. They are the insistent demands by union laborers that the President shall reverse the action of Congress, done by representatives of all the people, the threats of prosecution and injunction in the courts if the railway bill became law, and the plans following the passage of the bill to defeat at the polls the members of the United States Senate and House of Representatives "who voted for it as enemies of labor." Is this country to be governed by any class of men by intimidation? What could be more abhorrent to the spirit of our constitutional liberty and the representative and lawful forms of our government? The day has passed—it never was here—when laws can be passed or defeated by threats upon our free and fearless franchise. It is time that some one drew the line plainly and fearlessly in matters of individual and governmental rights.

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CHAPTER I

MY NEIGHBOR THE WORKINGMAN

FIFTY years ago it was comparatively easy to define one's neighbor in the same country. The people were mostly of one race and kind. There are certain conditions that make the definition easy now—nearness of residence in a neighborhood, intimacy of friendship, social relations, or the broad principles of a fellow being.

The old conditions of homogeneity and proximity have passed out by a marvelous change wrought in two generations. We are living in a new world.

Fundamental laws of nature remain the same. Fire burns, water drowns, gravitation weighs, electricity energizes or devitalizes, the light is transparent. They are the same from age to age. The air is unchanged, but it is found to have another adaptation, and ships float upon it as upon a new sea.

The inventions of man, his explorations and discoveries, within the realms of space and force, would present to our fathers a bewildering world. But to us they have passed into the commonplace. Many of the startling things in the head lines of our daily papers yesterday become our habit and practice to-day.

These vast changes all have their place in a most rational and accommodating way. They excite no friction. They are welcomed in our business and given a cordial place in our homes. We make new machinery to apply their efficiency to our shops and factories. Franklin's kite and key drives our express trains and lights streets and homes of every metropolis. We rejoice in an age in which unfathomable mysteries have been penetrated to such inner secrets that faith in the future of time and immortality is greatly simplified.

But the perplexing and difficult problems are man's adjustment to changing estates. He takes care of everything but himself. He can measure the forces and make them serve him. He can put a harness upon the lightning and apply chemical force to commerce. He compels water and food to yield the secret of their distinctive bacteria, and changes the character of the metals. He brings millions of wealth out of the by-products that were thrown hopelessly into the refuse heap. There is no limit to his capabilities and facilities to turn all things to his use. But the adjustment of himself is an endless and unsolved puzzle.

Study the philosophers who are busy with problems in all their phases, from eugenic to hygienic, from prenatal to psychic, with every possible domestic economic solution, in the development of citizenship, the slow progress, the failures, the revisions, the hopeless tasks. The man will not stay placed.

You are not dealing with natural force or substance or law. There is nothing fixed about him but his restlessness. He is changing oftener than the moon its phases. Like a child, what he sees he wants, and what others have he thinks belongs to him or is held by the possessor in some unjust way. And he becomes the victim of every jealous and dangerous secret purpose. It is that mind, that passion of ambition and desire, appallingly active or equally stupid, which eludes us and which cannot be put into amperes and kilowatts. And it does not dwell apart, an isolated particle. The great mistake has been in reckoning with it as an impotent unit, standing alone and failing to appreciate the cumulative force of these small personalities as they gravitate under a common impulse and become a collective and consolidated energy. The solitary socialist amused us. The soapbox orator who assailed our government in a jargon only intelligible with difficulty excited passing curiosity.

A train leaves the New York Central station for up country. Along the Hudson River a solitary snowflake strikes the smoke stack of the locomotive and is as quickly gone. Only the engineer sees it. The passengers give it no attention, if it passes the engineer and strikes the car window, for it melts away. Others follow in increasing numbers. They attract attention and excite passing remarks. At Albany the station platform is covered and the roofs of the buildings. The track is white as the train

pulls up the grade. Through the Mohawk Valley you cannot see across the narrow river. At Utica the smoke stack is covered with snowflakes; they came faster than it can melt them. At Syracuse a snow plow is sent on ahead. The next day the trains are stalled along the road. The snowflake was joined with others and together they became a storm that blocked the mighty railway. The solitary flake that melted on the smoke stake was a symptom, a forerunner, a menace.

Are we in the midst of the gathering storm? It has been brewing a long time. Are we creators of the storm? Can we command it to cease and be calm? Are we wise to let it rage and send out our plows—powerful rotary plows? Is it wise to increase our storm and trust to our devices, our politics, our free land, our industries, our commerce, our philanthropies, our churches and universities, and let the storm rage?

Our solitary malcontent did not melt. He did not even fall into the melting pot. It was not heated for him. While he was outside unassimilated and increasing his discontent, others joined him, and to-day when we look about at this strange condition of surging discontent in a contented land, we find the conditions unfriendly to our attempt to be neighbors with thousands who live in the same neighborhood. But they live in Adullam's Cave.

They have organized their discontent, and they have insisted upon political recognition. They are

not strong enough to rely upon their votes to form a new national party, but the politicians reckon with them. And without votes to command a controlling place as a political party, they take advantage of the free country they curse, and assert their protests with bombs. It is no longer a snowflake of feeble, solitary protest or of collective energy. It is a bomb. It is death.

The more respectable and law-abiding protest by strikes, by which business is paralyzed and enormous losses are incurred by strikers and stricken, and judgment is often compelled without regard to justice. And the national administration opens the inner door to the representative of this tyrannical form of government within the government and increases wages millions beyond the earning capacity of the business to pay, and debts mount up to billions of dollars and strikes are kindled in every part of the country. It was the policy of increasing the storm and trusting to the rotary plow.

Has there ever been such widespread and universal discontent? And the blind continues to lead the blind. The elements of discontent are used to create discontentment. More snow, more shovel. But it is our snow and our storm. More high cost of living and more wage; more pay for less work; more envy, less satisfaction. It is the endless circle into nothing. It is two dollars now, but two dollars are worth less than one. And the man who inquires for real and permanent remedy is not a neighbor.

He is met with epithets and he will be fortunate if his home is not bombed or a bullet put through his brain, not by the men at the head of this organized unrest, but by the victim of insane spasms who takes too literally the speeches which attack builders and contractors and the defenders of a country founded upon the doctrine of equality of privilege under law, and only under law.

There must be a common interest to establish neighborliness—not a common estate, but an interchanging relation and a recognition of mutual dependence. But we are widening the separating space, not in dollars but in opposite theory of government and privilege, the right of another's property by preemption.

Men to be neighbors must work to a common end for a common good. It would be logical and consistent if those who have the same concept of a land and country would join themselves together to secure their ideal. If they cannot adopt the principles with which millions are content into whose country they come, why seek to destroy that country, overthrow its institutions, and scatter its property by a destructive communism? Such men can establish no claim upon tolerance. It is gigantic impertinence for them to attempt to assert any right or privilege. An hundred and fifty years pass with a government that has excited the amazement of the greatest statesmen of modern times and that has been the shelter of refugees from all parts of

the world. Its developments of national resources are fabulous. Its progress and successes have excited the emulation of all lands. Suddenly there appears among us an outbursting flame of enmity and wanton destruction.

The clamor is not for a better government, but for none. The demand is for a return to conditions of the tribal forces which welcomed the first white man to these shores with abandonment of all of the fruits of civilization which they attempt to overthrow.

Our country provides an orderly way for the revisions of the government. If a sufficient number agree, they can proceed to change the constitution by amendment and substitute changes in those parts where men are oppressed. Great latitude of free speech is given while the work is in progress. If that is hopeless, discontented men have a second choice, to return whence they came or content themselves with the conditions as they find them. If they seek to destroy the loyal and consecrated subjects of a republic founded for freemen by freemen, they should be treated as wild beasts upon the throwing of the first bomb.

Our government has been too careless of such deadly reptiles. It is our country while we protect it. We owe no man anything who seeks to overthrow it. He should not be sheltered an hour where he incites others to join him in his effort to tear that shelter into pieces. Our presumption

upon our security, our mistaken devotion to the cause of human freedom has cost us two of our greatest Presidents. In no country do its foes presume so safely upon the indifference of the loyal people to attacks upon their governmental institutions. It is mistaken for supineness. It is the confidence of loyalty.

The time is past when we can treat the menace lightly. The great men of our people are too absorbed in their pursuits. The country offers them too many opportunities to permit them to stop for any serious thought of the socialistic ranters. We do not fear anything more than effects upon our own kind. But Adullam's Cave is a rendezvous for all kinds who have any real or imagined ailment to be cured. Anything that promises cure will secure a large following, for while there is a variety of complaints the desire for a physician is common to them all. To the well, none are sick. To the loyal, none are traitors. And one day, when all are happy and it is a gala day, there is a terrific explosion among women and children and scores are killed and maimed.

When the carpenter was at his trade and the artisan was pursuing quietly and contentedly his calling, a fiend in some infernal cellar or attic is compounding his fatal explosive, and when the little children are being dressed for the pageant and are starting from home with gleeful voices, the fiend, whose heart never knew pity, is loading death into

his crude shell and placing with a grin of satisfaction the time fuse. It is an unsuspecting multitude. Why should they be suspicious? They know that there is no reason or remote excuse for anyone to harm anyone in that company, much less the women and children. The mothers and children of the poor are there. It is not a company that ever oppressed any people. Their fault is that they are happy and their homes are clean and wholesome. The men have a day off from their work. They are workingmen—the clerks from the stores, the mechanics and artisans, the young women from the telephone and telegraph offices. The wives of the industrious released from care have a day off with their husbands and the children. To-morrow they will be back cheerfully at the toil that makes their happy homes. An awful blast! Scores of those women and children lie dead and scores have limbs torn off and eyes extinguished, and that gala throng is wailing in agony; ranks are broken.

The whole country feels the tremor of that worse than earthquake shock for a day—until the next day's papers spread out in double leaded type the next sensation, and we forget what was done to the innocent that happy morning; and, worse, we forget what was done to our beautiful land and country.

We leave it to a small group of prosecutors to bring the offenders to justice and make it difficult for them to succeed, invoking the national administration, mustering preparations of sympathetic strikes

and raising volumes of questions as to the possibility of wrong convictions in the face of all available courts and executive reviews.

We have a sure way in our land of making it comparatively safe for this fiendish business. If we were smaller, it would shake the circumference more quickly and more mightily. Before the victims are buried, soap boxes are mounted in distant cities by apologetes for the dastardly murders. It did not slack our pace. But in the cellar and the attic the fiends are working with black curtains drawn to-day. Meetings are being held all over the country in considerable cities at night without lights. A flash of lightning, if the shutters were not closed, would reveal the startling company of a thousand malcontents, the stuff out of which they make fiends, who had come in with the padded tread of a tiger. And they slink away to their lairs with the poisonous infection of hate without cause, to be wrought upon they care not whom if it may only fill hearts with terror and tear them away from loyal devotion to the country whose freedom their sires bought with their priceless blood.

We present a strange spectacle to the world. We were pioneers of freedom. We drove the Indian back from our frontier farms because of his tomahawk and scalping knife, and he had some justifiable excuse for his attempt to exterminate the invaders of his lands. They were destroying his hunting grounds and damming back the waters of

his fishing streams. He wanted to be friendly, a neighbor on common terms. We have resisted invading foes and shown a remarkable strength of self-defense. We have had no difficulty of fighting our foes in the open. It is passing strange that we should be so impotent against the enemy who lurks in darkness. He defies us. He harangues us in our streets and murders us in our patriotic celebrations. Is there no element of fear restraining us, no patriotism among us? The homes of our mayors are torn into pieces by mysterious explosions. Bombs are set off against the residences of judges. The incendiary torch is applied to our stores and factories.

Should our methods be less aggressive? Shall we be charged with cowardice? "What are we?" is a practical question. Why do these marauders go about with impunity? Here and there a man and a woman, so notorious as to compel resistance if a modicum of self-respect is to remain to us, receive a short prison sentence and plan to return to their old stamping ground. There is a spasm in a Legislature and an appropriation of a few thousand dollars to put down foreign Bolshevism—and the wave subsides. There will be a report of a junketing committee, but no round-up of bomb-throwers. Secret meetings will go on in darkened halls. The secret propaganda will flourish.

Is America unable to protect herself from her most insidious and perilous foes? Are we without

resources of protective enginery? Is detective energy a past art and name? Are we to be beaten at the game of secretiveness? These are questions that relate to the morals and safety of the country.

The country is not independent and free while these things are so. We make a boast with a victorious foe ambushed in all of our precincts. We are not protected when defiant threats are made against courts which condemn criminals and business is menaced by men who claim the right of force to redress their fancied wrongs by the destruction of property or by the death of the builder of that property. It is a great thing to furnish shelter and protection to the persecuted and oppressed, but it is equally great to protect ourselves, our business, and our homes. We may as well reckon that this is imposed upon us as a first obligation.

Bombs, lynchings, and incendiarism do not belong to advanced civilization, and there can be no apology for them. They belong to a crude and undeveloped condition. It is small pride to point to our vast territory and the limitless resources of mineral and productive wealth of our mines, our prairies and forests, our commerce and manufacture, while we are threatened and terrorized in our cities and towns by a raw and savage element which we can neither control nor expel.

The strength of a people is in its self-control and in the mastery of all opposing elements. The force of this control is not in police assertion, an artificial

and hired protection which itself joins the foe, but in the resident energy of moral endowment—a country to which such things find no congenial root, nor the possibility of secret growth. It is true that the same soil will produce weeds and corn, but which shall grow depends upon the farmer. It is not a flattering discovery that we have millions of adults among us who can neither read nor write, when the condition of alien citizenship is the ability to read the constitution of the United States. We have discovered that it is not enough that tens of thousands communicate with each other and with those of their own kith, in language which we cannot understand. They must know an interchanging tongue and language by which they shall be reached by the country. They must have a language with which they may know our laws and our history as well as our current thought, and by which we may know them.

The greatest source of our peril is the ignorance of the common mind. Upon them is imposed the wild teaching of fanatics and the self-seekers. We do not forget that out of our college faculties have come some of the most dangerous foes of America. They have learned much, but they have never learned that freedom and restraint go hand in hand and that law and personal liberty are not in conflict if one wishes to be lawful. Such men, however, are not especially dangerous. They stand out and are seen and known. Some of them are in Atlanta, or

the verdict of the university is pronounced in expulsion from its faculties. But their pernicious teachings are in the air like the Scotch thistle down borne into all countries. The ignorant who leave their thinking for others, and who take their positions at a dangerous premium are as easy victims as the fish to which the bait floats down on the stream.

It is told that a transatlantic ship landed Pat at a New York dock, who came striding down the gangplank with his little all in a bandana-bound bundle hanging from a shilalah over his shoulder. The ever ready small politician representing the big politician received him with cordial welcome:

"What party do you belong to, my friend?"

Pat replied, "Be gorry, I don't know, but I'm agin' the government."

That is the answer of the overwhelming majorities who land on our shores from European monarchies, where from childhood they have been taught that the ills of their parents, the squalor of their apologies of homes, the scant food and clothing, the difference between their poverty and the nobilities' riches is the government, and that when they should reach this Eldorado they would themselves be able to overturn the government and make one to suit poor folks. That it is unlike the one they have left is unknown to them. They enroll for their novitiate with the thought that they are to overthrow something and set up a better something. Left without the instruction of all knowledge except

the partisan forum of the crudest form, and excited, as has been too true in past generations, by the arguments of the saloon, you have the dangerous citizen. When the immigrant comes to much here that is promotive of the highest citizenship, he finds among us much that is removed from that calm contentment that argues a serene and confident life. We are a restless people. We never seem to have reached a goal. We are in a state of constant exploration and venture.

We restlessly change from one form of business to another, and have for a common center in which all may speculate, exchange of stocks and bonds where we follow up and down the shifting scale of prices. While it is true that much among us is stable and fixed, it is also true that moving in all business forms is a restless discontented multitude. They answer you with examples of "get rich quick."

That they pass over fortunes at their feet does not change the nature of this restless animal. His highly wrought nervous energy is contagious. He returns to view lost opportunities and plunges on again. He makes great fortunes and so do those who inherit the by-products of passing enterprises. It is a great venture to launch out, but it takes courage to remain and seize the things that are left.

In a Maine lumbering village of my boyhood the time came when the great pines had yielded to the ax. In that village were three prominent lum-

bermen. There was also a sturdy Irishman who drove the little locomotive that hauled the lumber four or five miles to the seaport from which it was taken to Boston and New York. There was no more promise in the small timber of spruce and Norway pine that remained. The three men sought their fortunes in California and Oregon. None of them greatly increased his estate in the new vocation, though all were men of large ability and enterprise. The Irishman, who worked at monthly wages and had saved all beyond a bare living, neither striking nor drinking, and blessed with numerous sons and daughters, bought, at a very low price, the forsaken, worthless land which promised no large return for investment of capital and labor, as fast as he could pay for it. He ventured to borrow some as his credit increased. He soon owned the mill site. Demand sprang up for spruce and Norway pine. Small white pines grew rapidly released from the lumberman's ax. The contented and frugal Irishman lived to see himself worth a million dollars, a vast fortune in those days. He came with nothing but his hands. He could have bought out, when he died, several times over, the three men whom he had envied in his young manhood. But he was an exception. It is true that not all who are content with the old life are so successful in the accumulation of property. The greater misfortune that the restless spirit is not often content within spheres of enterprises and progress, but consumes itself in envy and

accuses fortune and the order of things with being unfriendly. It apologizes for its failure by charging it to the unjust and dishonest competition of successful neighbors.

Cornelius Sullivan, to whom I have referred, makes no impression as an example. He is an exception. There is no law proved, you say. With such answers your malcontent goes on to stimulate his grievances. And if merely reaping the aftermath where other men have wrought is all of life, disappointment would not be surprising. But our malcontent seems to have no objective. Everything is wrong. Nothing pays. Everyone is in better fortune, and there is nothing for him but to know the pain of his own heart. He is made unhappy by the happiness of others.

The great trouble is that such men have not made a study of themselves. It is a problem. There are many who do not master it, and many more who have never thought of it as a problem. They think with their eyes and with their ears; and having eyes, they see not, and having ears, they hear not. Having no resources within themselves they turn to other men who have what they covet, and having no solution of it, it never occurs to them to improve their own estate and place in life. But the shortest and plainest answer to it all is to blow up the land that fosters partial and unequal prosperity. They pass out of the genera of men and become beasts to destroy for the love of destroying. The law is a

barrier to be removed. The officers restrain by artificial authority and are enemies of mankind. All restraining government should be overthrown, not because they have not been given a chance—they never have sought one; not because it got in their way—they never sought a way. They want only to obstruct everything that made a way, an open way for the enterprises of men who while seeking their own were building for others. It is a strange *genus Homo*. He stands on two legs, that is all. If he were down upon four legs, we could recognize him. We would not make the mistake of thinking he was a man—too late.

It all seems a species of insanity and yet a responsible insanity. But it is impossible to predicate the actions of such people upon sanity. Nothing could be more useless in securing the end attempted. The world never has yielded the slightest return to cowardly murder. There is nothing that appeals to any noble instinct. Darkness does not create light. It must be dispelled by light which comes into it from without. Darkness would not generate light in a million cycles. Darkness is the absence of light. Hate does not beget love. They are at opposite poles in everything. They have no resemblance at opposite poles. There is some radical defect which seeks destruction instead of reform, if even reform is necessary. The mental deficiency, the utter lack of mental capacity, suggests the home of the feeble-minded. Never a reason was given

by a destructive lunatic that satisfied the astonished query of an intelligent man.

If the whole creation of these murderous fanatics and cranks were in an instant swept off the earth, the sum total would not amount to a suggestion of the loss of a man, of one whole and sane man. They have never added the slightest value to the world's assets.

In the earth's structure there are spots that seem to serve no purpose of creation. But they do no harm, and sometimes the genius of man turns them to account and they prove to be a waiting value of the earth's varied assets.

The destructive socialist serves no purpose. He has not the excuse for being a wild animal or a venomous scorpion. He is a blighted, an atrophied, a distempered, a contagious attempt at a man, the most deplorable and disheartening which the world has ever seen. Along some dim line he may have been a man once, but the perversion has been so prolonged and persistent that all resemblance to God's work has long since ceased. He killed a child. He tore in pieces a baby brought by its mother into the sweet morning air. He set a torch to a house, a home built by an industrious mechanic and his frugal wife. Through years they were building it. In an hour this criminal fiend reduced it to ashes and the parents and the children perished in their home. He did it to reform the government! Have you ever seen anything in God's work like him? Have you seen

anything in the devil's work like him—more wicked —more hellish? He is not my neighbor. He is not a workingman. There is nothing in him of which workingmen are made. He cannot appeal to me. If he suffers, I do not suffer. No! Not any more than I suffer when the wolf that destroyed my child suffers and is dying from the hunter's bullet. Such anarchistic and destructive socialists are justly described in words once used by the world's greatest Teacher, when he sentenced as "serpents and a generation of vipers" characters who could not escape the damnation of hell.

And such are to reform my government by blowing into fragments its industries, by killing the innocent who live under it, by surprising with eternity those whose fate is not committed to them, but who have the supreme right to live? If they reach numbers to have a name like the Bolsheviki and pretend to a government, they will order instant trial executions—a criminal farce. They are I. W. W. murderers and cowardly assassins. They are in any form our foes to be exterminated. These reformers elected an addled-brained dupe to kill a McKinley, and excited with their crazy doctrines a dementia victim to slay a Clémenceau if possible.

Has there been any pronounced friend of humanity who has not been classed as their enemy? Has there been any form of human or divine government that is not the object of their wrath? It matters not whether it be an absolute monarchy or

the world's most generous and most democratic republic. Alike they curse the land of *lèse majesté* and the land of free speech, in which they sow sedition and curse its generous institutions.

The further one reflects, the warmer becomes his blood and the hotter his indignation that such fiends should presume to pass judgment upon the rule and authority of man. That there is lacking every qualifying element is apparent from the red socialist to the Bolsheviki who have intimated no constructive powers. When for an hour they have held sway, progress, manufacture, the arts, learning and virtue have fled in terror from them, and their own doctrines and diabolical practices have subdued them and overcome them. How long will the lethargy of conceit, the flattery of a false security, drug us into perilous soporific indifference from which we may wake up too late?

What are the riots of the whites and blacks in our great cities but symptoms of propaganda in secret and earnest operation throughout the land? These destroyers of our peace are upon the alert to stir the discontented who find their place in the body politic for any reason irksome or embarrassed.

The colored man is docile and peaceable. But he is coming to acquire some measure of power, in saved wage, in modest home, in small farms and trades. His children are educated. He is entering professions among his own people. The world

never has seen such an emergence from bondage. But a class of them is easily excited.

There are also workingmen loyal and safely intrusted with the community. They are partners in all of the progress of their town, the public schools, the libraries, the Christian and Jewish Association, and the most of them are in the churches and synagogues. They are the stability and hope of the country.

These people have a right to protection from the secret machinations of the destroyer that works in darkness. They can be made the greatest protective force of the country. They respond as one voice. They are a common and forceful sentiment. They have an investment in all that their town is, and a blow at it is a blow at them and their families. They will not listen to any doctrine of common property, soviet government, confiscated factories, common wives. They are clean. They have helped to rid the country of the saloon, the workingman's worst enemy. They furnish from their homes the students of the colleges. From them have gone out to the professions many of the ablest men in law and medicine, statesmanship, great business men and scholars of literature, the arts and sciences.

The homes of the poor are the fruitful soil of the best citizens of any community. As a rule, in whatever lot they are they are contented, for they embody the element of the true contentment, and they make the world's earnest progress. They are the

chief asset of any community. Whatever business comes, it fails if they do not come and if they are not contented.

These workingmen are our neighbors. They are the neighbors and helpers of every man who carries large enterprises. We need not fear with such men as our neighbors. They are our safety.

CHAPTER II

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

THAT has been the unanswered question in many lands for many years. It is easy to say that a war of extermination should be begun. That is the way we proceed against outlaws. The claims of our country set aside all considerations for its foes and especially for those who assail her in the dark and by inhuman means—a fixed and alert watchfulness of all signs, the tracing of every track of the beast to his lair. Such men live in unusual places and the manner of their lives is marked. They are unemployed if they are leaders and chief conspirators. They should be arrested upon suspicion and the burden of their defense should be placed upon them. There should be no safe and secure place left to them. Wild animals are not hunted among flocks and herds. They are hunted in the retreats where they bange. It will be conceded that if the extermination has not succeeded in those lands where every effort has been used and where there has been no embarrassment from the plea of freedom of speech and of personal pursuits, but the work of assassination has gone on in the daylight, it is not an easy task in a land where the courts presume innocence until guilt is proved. But there must be a

suspension of the order of things among us and theories of practice that apply in common cases must be laid aside. A special police for this purpose must be assigned and held strictly to the business of hunting down this class of criminals. Meetings in darkened halls, unannounced, are prima facie evidence of mischief. They choose darkness because their deeds are evil. The light should be sprung upon them. It may be truthfully said that evils might follow such procedure, but in dealing with this peril such chances must be taken. The national assassin must not hide under a prudence more careful of him than of his intended victim. There has been too much measuring of the constitutional limit of privilege. The author of incendiary speeches has been protected by the Constitution he seeks to destroy.

In a certain city a foul, anarchistic woman, in an incendiary speech to an audience of brutal men and women, attacked the head of the university of the town. She regretted that she could not "kill him and take his worthless hide and make it into drumheads to beat out the march of human freedom in its processions." No arrest was attempted. No caution by representatives of the law who were present. The morning papers did not condemn it, probably considering it too coarse to be noticed and to be harmful. That is not a safe conclusion. It is from such meetings, inspired by such vile and coarse ranters, that some diseased brain goes out deter-

mined to serve the cause by bringing in that hide to be made into drumheads. In the abstract such agitators are harmless and best not be dignified by marked attention, but there is a concrete and practical side to it. The country would be startled if it knew the per cent of insane who are outside of the asylums. They strangely gravitate to such company. They become dangerous. They do the deed which the soap-box orators, the bomb-makers, dare not do. There is but one course that should be pursued with such irresponsible creatures. They should be put inside of the insane asylums or the prisons for the insane. That woman has just completed too short a term at Atlanta for another offense, but the work of justice was too slow. It should be alert when the attempt now boasted is made to renew the old practices and especially when a demonstration of welcome is made which would be a plain defiance of the law.

We cannot afford to wink at these practices. We are becoming too dense in population, our cities are covered with the rotting scum that is floating into them on every tide of immigration from Russia and Neapolitan Europe. They threaten us far more than defective sewerage or lax laws against virulent contagion.

We systematize the protection of health. We leave unguarded against the assassin of our free institutions and men who represent them, every avenue of approach. A President is killed; a judge

shot on the bench. A mayor or a governor is threatened for executing law. We utter our indignant protests and wait for the repetition of the offense. The threat should be the capital crime against which we should aim the shafts of the law. The bloody act should not hide under the delays of the court or dallying officials.

So long as we make a home for scorpions, they will crawl into the place where they are left unmolested, and not strange if they crawl about the house. If we are indifferent to their coming and going, they will come and go at pleasure and we have the chief blame for their virus and its fatal contact. It is an impotent nation that cannot rid itself of lurking peril which takes so little pains to hide itself.

Now that the war is over, when the propagandists begin their work is time for warfare at home. We have fought no foe more worthy of extermination. The inventive genius that secured such remarkable instruments to the cause of humanity against the tyranny that sought to overthrow all human freedom should find it no difficult task to rid our part of the world of the insane freaks who attack the foundations of freedom among us. Such assault is friendly to no interest. The tax of extermination will be begrudged by no class, but we will insist that the work be done thoroughly. It must justify itself by leaving no vestige of the pestilence.

As a precaution we must guard our open doors. There is such a thing as leaving the doors too wide

open and leaving them to be swung on their own hinges automatically. We have been too careless of our doors. For generations we had no restrictions. The immigrants poured in upon us and they served us right well. The disease of anarchy was unknown. The revolutionists who came brought no bombs nor daggers with them. They came for freedom with the spirit of the pilgrims. Their sons and daughters have reenforced a sturdy citizenship. They increase in efficiency with each generation. The fear that we might suffer serious loss to the country by interfering with these wholesome currents of immigration has kept our doors open. A while ago, when southern Europe began to send over her cripples and incompetents, we placed a guard at our doors. We were less careful about the opinions of men seeking our shores, for we had arranged all of that in the arena of free thought. We trusted to the freedom of thinking and sound speaking to assimilate diverging and antagonizing opinions. That men should try to destroy collectively the lives of those who did not agree with them, and to overturn the government was new to us. And that those who came to the privileges of our institutions, established at enormous expense and sacrifice and defended with our lives, must be only sporadic. It could not mean a large menace in fact or force. It would correct itself; it was an exaggerated protest of fanaticism.

The time has come to double guard the doors.

Cripples might come with promise of genius. We might exclude a Byron. Many of the world's great thinkers have been deformed physically. What of the man's brain? What is the type of his thinking, what the school of his instruction, what his bias? Americans should guard that door and bar it against every man whose mind is deformed or who shows destructive tendencies. Let the nation that produced him be responsible for him. Return him whence he came. If anyone with these dangerous symptoms is admitted, it should be with a safe check upon him. He should be listed and followed carefully through a process of inspection when not under restraint and unconscious that he is being observed. Those who have got by should be deported promptly. The first soap-box speech against the country, the first threat in darkened meetings, should list the offender for an early sailing ship. Clear evidence of such utterances should be sufficient for any magistrate to make the deporting commitment.

Highly intelligent detectives should be sent to the embarking ports of Europe to acquaint themselves with the Trotskys and Lenines in embryo, and follow them here by the ships on which they sail and stop them at the open doors. It should shut with double boltings in the face of all such. It is not enough to protect ourselves on these shores; we should know Europe as familiarly as we know America.

We are not planning against another great European war. We need infinitely more than a League of Nations, a league of self-preservation at the doors of our seacoasts against a foe more dangerous than Kaiserism. We are not in danger from an invading army by sea or with bombing airplanes. We must guard against the planting of an army of Bolsheviki, by whatever name, to attack us secretly by cowardly assassination. Germany boasts preparations for another war. She will not make her attempts by millions marshaled in battle ranks. She is putting through our open and unguarded doors on the east and west coasts her next army.

It is not the wooden horse of Troy. It is the steerage of the transatlantic lines and the callous conceits of our over-confident America. They come because a certain large measure of preparative work has been done while we have been sleeping. They do not count yet by millions, but they are everywhere. They take the measure of capital and labor. They weigh the politicians. They champion Czech and Russian. They reject the Jew. He is the son of Abraham and a student of Moses's law. He is deep-rooted, as a rule, in the law and order of his fathers.

The respectable class, however much misguided, who offer their opinions in an orderly canvass with published candidates for the franchise, are exercising the rights of free Americans. They are voters and have a right to influence others to vote with

them. The country will trust to the intelligence of the loyal American to resist their fallacies and to defeat them with the convincing argument of the ballot. Should they by any chance win, the damage wrought by their crude experiment will return the community sobered to the primal principles tested by a century and a half of freedom. A long memory is not required to recall the political spasms of anti-masonry, greenbackism, and free silver, all entombed by the intelligence of the people after a premature birth and death by infantile paralysis. A square, open fight in the light is not to be feared in this country. It may be inconvenient. It may work serious loss and disturb the good order of society. It may defeat, for a time, men of solid worth and reduce our administration and judiciary to a travesty, but the turbulent waters return to their banks, the shores are mended, and the normal currents flow on again.

Capital returns to its place once more and furnishes employment in the thousand enterprises which it offers to the world's enterprise, and the workingman fills his dinner pail with something more substantial than the socialistic orator's hot air. These convulsions are not to be classed with Bolshevism, the I. W. W., and the Red Socialists who demand the destruction of the general order with no intelligent substitute. We can tolerate the man who thinks he has something of improvement—a better thing, however foolish it appears when intelligently

analyzed and however much we may deprecate the temporary calamity that must follow the experiment. But at the worst he is a mistaken citizen, and he is our neighbor even though we do not fellowship his politics. Such men suggest a practical problem. We have encouraging work with him and more with those who follow in years. The informal school, the night school in college halls, in high-school and grammar-school buildings, in professional school lecture rooms where good plain teachings may be given by college professors and public school teachers, where the phonograph and movie may be used and lectures and concerts may be given, all of it free, furnished by the state and the general government. Science may be taught in its plain but fundamental outlines, especially as it relates to human progress and happiness. History should be in the schedule: those great events and experiments in human affairs that, if learned, will save the world the repetition of past fatal blunders; history that is more than annals of political intrigue and the shifting of rulers in the world's game of chess. The plain, everyday events of the common life: the birth of new nations, the development of industries, the personal and individual achievements in navigation, in railways, in talking cables, and telegraphs and telephones; the numberless inventors who have established a new order of home life, whence they came, by what personal heroism, by what sacrifice of capital, by what tireless toil and labor both of the

working brain and the working hand; the discoveries, the subduing of waste places, the building of cities; the story of our own land and country, the heroism of its founders, the prescient wisdom of its first lawmakers, the story of the. Constitution, its system of jurisprudence, its public schools, the patrons of education, the origin of charities, and annuities which minister to the unfortunate and the poor. Let all such students be taught the English language, that polyglot of all tongues, until they can read and study every great life of our history and every translation of the lives of all lands, that they may live among the great men of human history. With the doors of their brains opened, there will come in a new light and our restless citizens will live in a new world of thought.

Natural History has a wonderful revelation for them. Natural law will banish superstition and fear and create for them realms of which they have never dreamed, when once they become capable of interpreting it. There is no remedy like widening the fields of thought by knowledge of the purposes and achievements of thoughtful, earnest men. There is mischief for idle hands to do. There is greater for idle brains to do. They react upon themselves. They become the bare branches in which foul harpies perch. To awaken them, to fill them with engrossing and inspiring facts and quicken them with worthy ambition is the best cure for evil and vicious men. The safety of the country

demands another grade of common school related to the rescue of the perilous. The economy is in substituting such schools for the reformatory. They are for those who missed the public schools also.

The mistake should not be in shutting up such work in the State colleges and normal schools. The public school buildings should be equipped with what they lack, all colleges and technical schools should be used under the supervision of the Department of Education, both national and State, men and women of liberal endowment of common sense and a passion to help the ingenious minds that feel the first pangs of hunger for knowledge. Care should be taken to select teachers with reverence and undoubted loyalty to their country, faith in the good and confidence that it will prevail.

Theorists, faddists, and fools in general should be taboo. Young minds, all students feel the force of personality, with an attractive force that will soon penetrate the passions. Such schools will need no persuasions nor enforced attendance.

The late Dr. Bickmore, the founder of the Museum of Natural History in New York, began to illustrate his subjects to a small group in a room about fifteen feet square on one of the floors of that great institution in the days of its beginning. In a comparatively short time a large hall was crowded with eager throngs following his colored photographs through the wonderful fields of those fascinating studies. The day that I was invited to at-

tend one of his lectures, the first subject on the screen was a desert, with its struggling attempt at a palm shrub, in the sands of which was hollowed a nest of the ostrich. Near by stood the adult bird and close by the broken and suggestive shell was the youngster. The habitat of the ostrich, in colors of sand and shrub and plumage of this bird of the desert, made an attractive and instructive picture. It did not pass as a picture to be forgotten. It means inquiry and the rudiments of research. It was a travel picture that took those men and women into a far country of which they had scarcely heard. Could there be anything better as a preventive of gangsters and bomb-makers? One incendiary fire prevented would pay for the equipment.

Out of the fetid air, the profane vulgarity, the gas-house lot and sewer odors, into an hour of oxygen of self-respect, the revelations of an unheard of world is a saving religion against which no sane person can raise a protest of jealousy and bigotry. A decade will change the features of that part of the community. It will change the homes and put into the air new odors. The skilled artisan will be sought there by the manufacturer, and the young clerk of the store will come and go on those clean and sweet streets. It is the cities' new investment. It has its place with the parks and art museums. It justifies them, for it is educating appreciation of them among the lowly and forgotten who will become vicious if neglected much longer.

It is well to improve tenement houses and widen streets and clean up the districts of squalor. That is for those who will come to enjoy it all and pay the investment. Our suggestion is not with the tenement but with the tenant, not with the street but with the man. The new man is more important than the new tenement. The wiser man and woman, the brighter children are more important than the wider street. Conditions of squalor are not made by poverty. They are made by ignorance. It is also the seed of vicious habits.

The woman should be taught at odd times domestic life. The husband's wholesome meal, well cooked if coarse, palatable if bought from the cheap huckster's cart, is an element of contentment and contributes to sound citizenship. Unfortunate women! They bear children in unfortunate numbers and do not know how to feed them and save their lives. In our new and universal schools, now being experimented in some cities, there are schools of cookery; some newspapers have short courses; some Young Women's Associations have them. They are for first-hand work. They make new homes. A strange contentment comes over the husband. He discovers a new wife at home. He brings home a new voice. He doesn't leave his excuse for a home with a curse to saunter up town. He waits until the dishes are washed and takes the wife in her new dress which she learned to make at the home school.

So strong is the appeal, so rich the reward in good citizenship, that some colleges are founding schools of domestic science where young women by hundreds are studying to lead in the first-hand work of home instruction in cooking wholesome meals and in dressmaking for the mother and for the children.

These are some of the things we can do to make neighbors of our enemies who are enemies of mankind. It is a work more important than the education of the children, the sons and daughters of the rich who should not and who will not be neglected. It is a protective measure. Not that all poor and ignorant become vicious—far from it. The rich furnish their quota of spoiled indulgents. But it is perilous to leave the poor to brood over their condition and to teach their children that the state is responsible for it. The state cannot relieve the situation by direct appropriation. It is not to bring something to the man in dollars and cents, it is to bring something into him—a larger and better brain—something he can do himself. That is what elevates him. Mr. Carnegie had given a large sum for a university library. A German with socialist tendencies said, "Why did not Mr. Carnegie give the money to the poor?"

The reply was: "That is an old question by an unenviable character; but has not Mr. Carnegie given his money to the poor? You are a subcontractor on the building; are you a rich man? Are

any of these men rich? Are not these scores of workingmen—the hodcarriers, the stonecutters and masons, the bricklayers, and carpenters and painters —are they not all poor men?"

The answer was in the affirmative.

"Well, could he have given them this large sum of money in a better way? Is it not a way that preserves their self-respect? They are contributing for what they get."

Men are elevated in this world by using their own energy and applying their own time. If by some process our unlearned and ignorant men could have knowledge put into their brains as sunlight is poured into the rose petals, they would be scarcely above vegetables. The tree takes the rains that fall about it and pumps it and transmits it along its branches and out to its twigs. And it blooms and bears fruit. Whatever may have been the first divine office of labor, it is not now a curse; it is a blessing. It is not benefactions of pensions, it is not stipends that the unplaced and unfortunate need. It is opportunity; the privilege of the reach of knowing things, just so much as to help them to know more. Then the character begins to sprout. The purpose is not that of a pensioner, a dependent. He has become a subscriber for his paper; a popular science magazine is on his table. He learned at the night school enough English to read them. A dictionary is beside him. Like Dwight L. Moody, he is not ashamed to spell out hard words. Henceforth

he does not go to the polls to sell his vote. It is not for sale, for he is not for sale.

The newcomer into the country, without knowledge of our language and the common English branches, should be directed to these schools of privilege. They are not penal schools. They bear no mark or sign or thought of that kind. They are not reformatory, but they have a mighty saving influence. They are offered to help those who for some one or another reason failed to secure their elemental preparation for a most useful life. They are to help men and women to acquaintance with the past and with current events and to practical affairs, all of which will increase their efficiency and their incomes and make it possible for them to advance their positions which others have taken from them because they knew a little more—just what they learned in the night or vacation school. The stranger who comes to our shores may not lack the knowledge which will fit him for self-support and put him beyond charge to our country, but he may and often does have the dangerous notion that he is to make over the state of things to which he finds it impossible to adjust himself because of his ignorance. He broods distempers and creates unrest in those like himself. Such a man must be compelled to study our language and to know sketches of our history. It is light that he needs, and not fire. He must be made to apply his idly vicious hours to knowledge of what has made us great. He must

have English, that he may read our great periodicals. If he intends to live here, whether he wants to become a citizen or not, he must be compelled to read our Constitution and our Declaration of Independence, the beatitudes of Christ, the Ten Commandments of Moses, the lives of the founders of our republic. And if at the end of two years he does not qualify in these, he should be deported. This is friendship to the poor, ignorant, misguided fellow whose life holds no promise. It is due ourselves, who are in imminent peril of becoming his victims. We are taking away no liberty. We are using no oppression. We are doing no injustice. We are conferring an immense benefit, greater than any moneyed gain he might find here. We are doing for him what was not done in the land from which he came. We are adding to the wealth of our own country, for we are making from very crude and unpromising material a neighbor.

Our work is twofold—to guard our shore doors against the hopeless vicious and make the man who is made by immigration or birth an American, a whole and sound and nothing-else American.

In this hour we have a home duty of Americanism which is in danger of being passed over in a sentimental appeal to exorcise the devils of anarchy and Bolshevism out of Europe. We are being urged that our war task has left upon our shoulders the burden of all the crude conditions and threatening elements of old and effete lands, and "we shall

break the heart" of the Old World with its century problems unfinished, if we leave it to carry on the business which it has done so poorly. To many of our thoughtful minds there is an impending danger in an assumption of the new order. We are a great people, but we are not great enough to manage the universe and ourselves also. There is a saving yeast in that heavy dough over there in Great Britain and France. We have no business there because we have more business at home than we can do. They would prefer to have us remain at home.

We need desperately at this time administrative leaders who appreciate the appalling tendencies among us. When the head of our government, who had spent six months in Europe, returned from mending its affairs, with scarcely a word or thought of home interests, in his absorption in constitution making for Europe, it is not strange that he should be filled with alarm and exclaim, "I did not imagine these things!" and that he should appeal frantically to Congress to begin curative legislation at once. Some of us are so old-fashioned in our Americanism that we believe our field of operation is here. We have no commission to go over to Europe to undertake the work of government-making there. We find no obligation for it, and we fear no ridicule of narrowness and lack of vision. With a land that belts a hemisphere and the world's mighty oceans to guard and the shores of two continents to patrol, with a hundred conflicting nationalities to amalga-

mate, with most intense strife of ideas contending in all parts of a tremendous area, with a people of the fiery passion of the South, the cool inquisitiveness of New England, the phlegmatic temperament of the middle Northwest, the bold adventure of the far West, to say nothing of the world's greatest cities not yet self-governing, it is not an unreasonable thing to urge America first, and to insist that Americans shall be first in our administration and our lawmaking bodies. We can neglect nothing that sacrifices our own Constitution and jeopardizes our own peace. We have done our duty and our whole duty in war, even if we were late about it. We cannot afford to be drawn away by the appeals of an impracticable and thoughtless sentimentalism from our stupendous business of carrying forth the work of our fathers. We have stood ready, and now stand ready, to rescue those of any continent or isle that are about to perish by the hands of the oppressor, but to all political appeals, to all entangling alliances we must answer, "We are doing a great work and cannot come down."

There has been brought to us in the shape of work that has been mapped out for Europe, the greatest peril this country has known since the great republic was founded. Our own interests have been neglected and treated with an indifference that would not permit our recently elected congressmen to consider American questions while an increasing discontent has threatened our railways and im-

periled our manufacture. It has been thought more important to set up boundaries for Poland, Czecho Slovak, and Jugo-Slovak than to administer in America a return to normal prices and habits from the war-time costs of living which threaten the peace of the country and menace to suspend altogether its operations.

Not an hour should be spent upon a League of Nations, or the German Treaty, beyond a declaration of cessation of war, until our internal conditions have taxed to the uttermost the statesmen wisdom of both houses of Congress in measures that return us to pre-war times.

A mighty shock caused the timbers of the world's mightiest republic to tremble. Another shock has come since the war closed. It is a test of coordinate government. The great republic is returning to its stability. Reds and Blacks, Soviets and World-Wides must be sent to their own place. With the President in the White House, and, as soon as it could be assembled, the Congress at the work of restoring the people's business, home prices should have been begun as measures of protection. Contentment, ample returns of business and wage, employment for all who will work, is a country's greatest safeguard against the socialist in whatsoever form he may appear. We could take the chance of breaking the hearts of foreign lands rather than break up the homes of our own people with hunger and discontent. It is well to feed all mankind if

we can; but if we do not feed our own, how can we feed anybody anywhere?

There is not so vast problem in the world to-day as our own, left to wander aimless and unanswered for the want of interest and intelligence in those who have become infatuated with distant lands. It may be well to prevent war, if it can be done—as it cannot by any chimera now urged upon us—but it is more important to secure the sure foundations of the world's greatest people in restored industries and prosperity.

America has a first claim. We have work enough on hand for a full, intelligent administration if we devote ourselves wholly to our internal appeals. We cannot leave them to the fate of chance. We cannot make a happy people, all of the people, by an administrative edict that fixes an arbitrary price for the farmers' wheat without knowledge or regard to the laws of supply and demand, nor by proclaiming increase of wage with no attention or question of how it is to be paid by the business assessed by it.

Intelligence must return to the helm and to the legislative halls. It cannot too soon if the sturdy workingman remains contented and if the business concerns venture to put forth their manufacture and trade.

While men slept the enemy sowed his tares and hurried away. Our great land has been astoundingly overgrown with pernicious weeds since it was

left to go waste with the close of the war. No industries came to Russia after its ill-judged revolution, and the Bolsheviki came.

Race riots are not without their cause. A few more threats, such as have just been made by leaders of railway employees that they will fix the railroads so that not a wheel will ever turn again, will not stop the railways but they will open the flood gates of blood and kindle the torch of incendiary flame. They are idiotic threats, but they are addressed to wild passion and unrestrained selfishness.

The whole country as a whole is lost to sight. We are making leagues. Our chief business is to make America safe. There is a highway sign that Americans will do well to commit to indelible memory: "Safety First." Our people have a first claim. The boys coming back have a prior claim. They may be reasonably surprised and discontented if they find their places of employment and their homes neglected and the cost of living forced out of reach. A peck of potatoes a dollar and twenty-five cents, a quart of milk eighteen cents, a peck of green peas one dollar and sixty cents, and a bushel of wheat two dollars and twenty-six cents, a dozen eggs one dollar. Their country is not cutting each other's throats but robbing each other's stomachs. It has turned into bands of thieves and is stealing each other's pocketbooks. It is making exorbitant prices because it can, because the example has been set for it in raising commodities to artificial costs.

The appeal to the farmer instead of being made to patriotism is made to cupidity. With nothing in cost to justify it, living went sky-rocketing, and the escape was in increase of wages. We cannot go back too soon.

It is not enough to guard our open doors. We must become rational inside. We must guard our doors, and we must study economics. One hundred per cent Americans should burn into their memories the stirring appeal of Thomas Bailey Aldrich:

"Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild, motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites—
Those, tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are loud,
Accents of menace alien to our air.
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!

"O Liberty, white Goddess, is it well
To leave the gates unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the downtrodden, but with hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair."

CHAPTER III

MY NEIGHBOR'S FALLACIES

DEEP-ROOTED already and so long neglected, these fallacies will yield only to most persistent and radical treatment. Some of them can be corrected by education. Some of them will demand protection of property and the defense of personal rights by force. If logic will not persuade, the law must.

We have had to contend with the claims of wages often disproportionate to the profits of business. It will be conceded by thoughtful students that wage has been slowly and grudgingly conceded sometimes when its demands were just. It was not permitted a fair return from the business which it helped to carry forward. The demands of unusual forms of living levied a heavy tax upon the home. It was plain that the patrons of business were suffering no embarrassment. In fact, they seemed to be in better circumstances. This created a friction between the employer and the employee and forced the worker into organization, the whole issue of which was wage. In time he became conscious of his strength. He adopted the boycott never before known to this country. It soon took another name and became the working man's strike. And often the only question was the power of getting the wages. The

leaders were often demagogues. The walking delegates were ignorant. They liked the loafing job. They "made good" by agitation. They forced up wages and were popular. The great questions of the best interests of the community were not studied. The plan was not discriminating. It carried up the skilled artisan and also the bungler whose only proof that he was a mechanic was that he carried a kit of tools through the street. He paid the dues of a union. He presented his card as a claim upon the contractor. If he were rejected, the whole gang picked up their tools and left.

The contractor, who was responsible for finished workmanship, whose bricks must be to the plumb line and who must take them out at the order of the architect, had no redress. He might curse and protest. The bungler came back on the job the next morning. The contract was taken at a fixed figure for material and for labor. Saturday night he was notified by the walking delegate or some labor functionary that the next week's wages would be twenty per cent more. But the contract price could not be moved up. The building might be stopped, but the bond held the contractor. Owners decided not to build. That struck the workingman. There had been no increased cost of living. It was simply a chance to pinch. Under no such circumstance did a contractor stop his building to crowd down wages. Periodically came the threatened strike, until the town was involved—

the price of the poor man's cottage was prohibited by the added cost of construction. The workingman was working against himself. The cost of living went up. Protective laws were discussed and the politician was threatened. The whole thing drifted on until to-day we have a state of things not altogether unlike Russia and recent Austria. In many cities for months building business is forbidden. The current of population is turned to other towns. Millions of dollars of damage is done, and the unions win the battle and threaten another strike. The accumulated fund from fees and fines pays the members their wages fifty or seventy-five per cent. Business is gripped by the throat.

Recent events show that wage is not the only strangle hold. The success of the conflict over the week's pay has whetted the appetite for a share in the business. This share plan was started by certain manufacturers as a pacifying measure. It was mistakenly believed that it would stimulate an interest in the business upon the part of the employee. How long did this fallacy last? It was expected that a minority interest would be all that could possibly be claimed. Not long, and the proprietor hears that a debating society of workingmen has had before it the question: "Who Creates the Capital?" It is decided. Then comes the practical inquiry: "Should not the creators of capital share more largely in its profits, and, further, ought not the workingmen who create capital to manage it?"

It is a startling proposition to steal the property outright and drive the owner out as they do in Russia. That is too much like stealing in America. Let us get the government to buy the railroads! We will set the prices. The stockholders are exploiters. They have no claim. They furnished the money to carry on the business for a share in the income. But that must not be conceded, for the employees of the system furnished the capital! What they take away for their labor and carry home to the savings bank or to support the family is too incidental to have any relation to the main question of "Who furnished the Capital?"

"Confiscation" might be a more polite term and sound less harsh, but it seems to be out of joint with the events, as there is nothing in war or any emergency to justify taking away from any man his property registered to him and defended by the Constitution.

But "What is the Constitution among friends?" And what is the hope of resisting the extending Bolshevism of renewed individualistic Jeffersonian doctrine that sowed these seeds in the beginning of a misnamed democracy which has persisted against constitutional government and the majority rule of a republic. What can be expected when the forms of authority are set aside, members of the most dignified body of the authoritative control of the republic are assailed as pigmies, and the President mounts the platform with his "fighting blood up" against a

coordinate body which the Constitution has made of equal and in many instances of veto authority? Is it difficult to see what the effect is to be upon an increasingly discontented and restless mass of laborers who are already under the influence of an astounding form of foreign socialism, especially as intimations of sympathy are whispered from sources of highest positions of political influence?

Is it possible to believe that with Lincoln or Garfield or Cleveland in the presidential chair a demand of ownership of the country's greatest properties and franchises, which are held constitutionally if at all, would have been made with threats that if the government did not furnish the purchasing funds the property would be destroyed as they do in Russia? When such a malady attacks the people, it is not far to find a cause. The cause in recent developments is not distress and want. The railway employee is the happiest situated workingman in America. He has borne the reputation of being one of the most intelligent until since the war disturbed the equilibrium throughout the whole country. The railway employee was peculiarly related to the carrying business of the government, its munitions, its provisions, its soldiers. It was a position of great responsibility in which one would naturally expect a high order of loyalty, of the same quality as that of the boys hurrying from the farms, the shops, and professions and college halls to battlefields across the seas. The railway track was

an infinite gain of safety and comfort over the trenches of Flanders and northern France. And the wages were multiplied two and three times. It was a splendid opportunity to serve without danger or sacrifice. The whole country was at service and sacrifice. We do not forget how astounded the whole country was when the papers announced that if these citizens of America were not given a large increase of pay, soldiers, munitions, and provisions would be left standing upon the tracks all over the continent! What an opportunity for a Grant or Sherman, for a Cleveland or Roosevelt! What a lesson failed of enforcement that never would have been forgotten nor need to be repeated! Our boys were falling by thousands in the world's decisive battle for the freedom of those very employees of the railways. The blood of our heroes was flowing across the fields of battle. And that very day these home patriots of the throttle and the brake were being coddled and their wage was being increased at the expense of millions of dollars to the burden of a country passing out its millions to the Red Cross, the Christian Associations, the Salvation Army, the Knights of Columbus, and through every avenue by which the brave soldiers of human freedom could be reached by men and women eating war bread.

At last the railroads told the story. The burden of debt was not millions. It was billions, not to be borne by the rich but by the small trader, the mechanic who had put a few hundreds in the bank—

all who had anything to tax, bore the burden in their proportion. The greatest burden imposed upon this country by any business has been by the mismanaged and abused railways. And now comes the amazing, the incredible demand that the government pay these billions of deficit, go through the pretense of a purchase and hand the entire property over to men who showed their glaring disloyalty to the country in the days of its extremity. We do not believe that these are the men who in the days of Chief Arthur were the pride of all men. It is out of this false interpretation of duty by the administration that they have persuaded themselves that only a demand with a threat is necessary to secure the practical ownership and entire dictation of the greatest railway system in the world.

Has America ever imagined such arrogance? We thought that this doctrine had been buried with Jefferson in his grave, beyond hope of resurrection. And that the republic had indoctrinated its sons into justice and property rights and government, not by edict and mandate of executives or property by the highwayman's claim, but by chosen representatives of the whole people and by inalienable patents.

It is a startling awakening. We have seen the fallacious claims of labor in its contest with business, and sometimes there has been the argument of the Golden Rule. But it had never appeared upon a national horizon that Americans could fall the victims of such appalling, unreasoning fallacy.

If the railway, why not the mines, the wheat fields, the factories of every great business, collective farming, and every calling of men that promises a greater return than the wage of the workingman? Why should not all yield to this demand of covetousness and fanaticism? We seemed to have passed the days of "the recall" when the mass without legal training or knowledge should pass upon the verdicts of the courts and the administration of governors. This Jefferson-born fallacy, if we could wait, would revolt from itself upon trial, as Bolshevism is revolting from itself. But the experiment is too expensive. What is left of our railways would be scraps of iron without credit to lay a new rail or turn a wheel. What is the promise of improvement in administration? Has the employee been trained adequately in the locomotive cab or the express messenger's car, or the brakeman with his lantern at the train tail-end, or the fireman, or the conductor, to step out into the large field of purchase of rolling stock, the employment department, the freight and passenger tariffs, the schedules, the thousand supplies, a gigantic business that taxes the trained and disciplined men who have been years from the rails or who have brought the greatest intellect of the land to the study of railroad economy? We must have been mistaken about the efficiency of our railway employees. It has been supposed that, with rare and quickly promoted exceptions, the locomotive engineer and train conductor, the fireman and

brakeman were obliged to use all the ability they had to make time and run their trains safely. It has not seemed a small thing to do, just the plain, every-day business of running a railroad train. But now we are told that these men find this all too tame, and they are ambitious to manage the whole business, and not one of them ever attended a night school of economics of any kind, and on his own confession he cannot figure out the expense of his home on a wage fifty per cent higher than his neighbor, the carpenter and the blacksmith!

How are these proficient men of the railway management to be found among these volunteers who tell us that they can turn the profits into their own pockets if they can be permitted to squeeze out the men who have built them the roads? How are they to be found? What test will be made? Of course they will make it themselves. Will there be no contentions and strife? Will no conflicting parties fight out the battle of promotion? Who will continue to run the trains—the engine men? the conductors? Will the superintendent come to the president's office and preside over a board of workingmen chosen by their comrades to determine great financial questions? Or perhaps there will not be any. The government will raise the money out of our taxes. The general managers will be taken from the valuable men who engineered the great steal. What will happen when the deficit takes the place of profit? Will the deficit be taken care of

by special appropriations by personal recommendations of the president appearing before Congress to state the case of the poor employees who are serving the country without pay in the management of its railroads? They took their pay from the profits, but what of the year there are no profits? The administration is not paying $2.26 for wheat any longer, and that has cut down the freight, for the consolidated farmers will not raise wheat unless the government guarantees $2.26!

Perhaps we do not understand the matter. We are old-fashioned. We remember when the pioneers built the railways at great risk to their investments, hiring Irishmen by thousands, who were content with wages and stretched the rails across the States and penetrated the far prairies with the locomotive. We remember how they built cities and towns as they went, until they climbed the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains and bound with steel the two halves of the continent together, replacing the emigrant trains and driving out the buffalo herds with the parlor cars; how they returned the freight cars with California and Oregon fruits and wheat, and established an internal commerce that became the amazement of the world. And these great roads began to pay a modest dividend. But the rewards of their founders were in the pride and joy of their achievement. They bore the obloquy and slander of the politician who traded on the prejudice of the people, but the land was woven with railroads!

I can but recall how when the roads were built by "the autocrats," who pioneered their right of way, the farmers' farm land values doubled and quadrupled by the inverse ratio of distance from the tracks, and villages grew in proportion to proximity to the railroad. I have been told that towns of flourishing prospects abandoned their promising sites, because the railways passed them at an inconvenient distance, and moved over to less favorable conditions because the town was on the railroad. The great iron roads went on a half century before those men were born who now assert their Bolshevik right to own them and manage them.

Our country has been built by railroads managed by the ablest men of the country, manned by contented and efficient employees. We left the highways of the sea for future generations and laid our rails in every direction where explorers and pioneers were waiting for them. Sometimes they fell into politics and created contentions and bitter antagonism for a time, but these were exceptions—an increasing development of the country and a far-extending civilization and blessings equaled in the material agencies of a new land. The railroads made us a common and united people. If as many of them had run north and south as ran east and west, the story of the Southland would have been a different one.

Is it less than appalling that a feverish and insane socialism, by whatever influence promoted, should

dare lay the hands of the destroyer upon the greatest dependencies of the people. A few months they have been out of the hands of their owners. Men who have coveted them as government utilities have toyed and experimented with them. They would have bankrupted them, were it not that the government must pay the price of their disastrous management. What a reckless disregard of the country's future were these roads put into hands unspeakably still more inefficient in managerial ability, were such a thing possible! What hardihood and reckless presumption that would take over so great a responsibility! Is it really to be charged up to workingmen gone daft, or is there back of it a bold scheme of the government utility delusion by which an invisible appeal is being made to the people through employees, from sources that awake no confidence by their own insistence of further experiment at thirty million dollars per month? Is it after all, perhaps, an original appeal for wages by an argument for less money by increased wages than the appalling deficits by feeble management? Is it strategy? Is it to cover a retreat upon the part of those higher up? Let us hope so.

It is well known that many in the workingmen's unions and many ranting socialists contend that all capital is made by labor and belongs to labor, and should be managed by labor. But this is fallacious. It is not true that capital is created by labor or that labor has any property right in it. If the laborer

has any right in capital, it is because he has invested in it something that he took out of capital, for which capital paid him in full. Labor might work a thousand years and add nothing to the world's capital. Vastly other elements enter into capital. There is discovery and invention. The man on the Northwest shores of Lake Superior who added hundreds of millions to the world's capital is not the workingman who digs iron ore and loads it into ships. He did not make the machinery, nor the ships by which this ore is taken away. Ten thousand of him were superseded and set aside by the inventor whose patrons were men of capital, who made it possible for him to experiment with his inventions. The man who started those streams of ore flowing eastward to the steel mills never did an hour's manual labor in his life. Capital goes before labor and makes it possible for the laborer to put his muscle and brawn into the market. It is not the man who digs the ore, but the man who discovers that the ore is iron. If capital, cursed by the workingman, had been contented with iron-bound chests and with vaults, and had lived off its gold, instead of investing in railroads and factories and exploring iron and gold and lead mines, where would labor be to-day? There would not be enough laborers above slaves and serfs to form a union or protest the feeblest claim. Capital has made the workingman and keeps him alive. To say that he makes capital is a bad case of putting the cart before

the horse. It might work that way, but it would be a short trip into the ditch, for both the cart and the horse. The experiment could be made of putting labor into the management of capital, but we venture that no one would invest in capital.

Trace capital as far back as the age we call civilization began its course, and you will find that it began and has proceeded with intellect at the head of the procession. A conception, a discovery, some far-sighted man who could see a railway track the length of the diameter of a continent, and who incited other men to his visions and enthusiasm and who combined together employed men who would sell their muscle for an agreed price—and the world moved, the civilized world. Before that their taskmasters put the lash to men's backs and fed them indifferently. Capital was conquered and stolen in those days.

But when the capitalist came along from fields of discovery and invention, the workingman's friend appeared upon the earth. If labor has any partnership relation to capital, it is of a coordinate character. Labor, if it is honest, efficient, and intelligent labor, helps capital to its achievements. If it is not, it hinders capital. It is a question in recent years if it has not been about as much a hindrance as a help. It is obvious that billions of dollars of capital have been destroyed by strikes and by forcing upon enterprises of capital inefficient workmen. The logical order is for capital and labor to work

together.) They are interdependent. (The laboring man, cursing capital as he may, cannot move without the leadership of the man of capital.)

He would have nowhere to work and nothing with which to work. Even an army without a man with plans of the whole field contested is a mob. Soldiers thus placed may be the bravest men who ever went into battle, but they are helpless and will be defeated if their foe has a general. The general is the capital for them. It would be as consistent for soldiers to accuse a general of not fighting, of never living in a trench, nor firing a machine gun, as for workingmen to talk about capitalists being autocrats and indifferent to the conditions of the employees doing the work of their railways and iron mines. Is it to be supposed that he knows the quality of steel and all material of construction and that he cares nothing for the efficiency of men, and will not do all that he can to promote it? Capitalists are not stupid, they have a keen appreciation of man power and constantly impress the thought upon their representatives. In the board meeting in New York, in Chicago or San Francisco, in Saint Paul or Saint Louis are the headquarters where every detail of the enterprises into which they have put their money for profit is being earnestly considered with infinitely more pains than it takes to run a railway train or navigate a ship. (The only toiler is not the day- or monthly-paid working man. The men who have built the railways and factories are not the indolent

rich. The hardest-working men in America are the working capitalists.) These men die young, as a rule. They seldom reach extreme old age. Mark the large numbers who pass out before their three score years and ten. What they have is in the vast business. And if one kind of enterprise does not absorb it all, they are found in another by which their country is promoted and more workingmen are employed. It would be impossible to reduce the business men of America to a state of indolence and self-indulgence. No greater misery could be imposed upon them.

In a recent heated discussion, in which my neighbor the workingman became excited, violent and unguarded language was used. The man who is responsible for the railway, who furnishes the capital, is called an autocrat. Your dictionary will tell you that that means having power of himself, government residing in a single person, supremacy, uncontrolled authority—"exercising absolute power, a title applied to the emperors of Russia"! Could any title more absurd be applied to an American citizen? Whence have these men come? Trace their pedigree. Go back to the farm, the shop, you will find thousands of them in the homes of the poor, the parsonages of the meagerly paid preachers, the homes of the blacksmith and the bricklayer. They bore calloused hands at day-paid labor. This "autocrat" may have fired a freight on the Union Pacific when Mr. Harriman made him an engineer,

and started him up the scale to the superintendent's office. He was a clerk in a store and attended strictly to business on poor pay and good pay, through all grades of the concern and saved and wisely invested his money. One day he bought a large quantity of railway bonds, and that enlisted his interest in railroading. He does not wear overalls now, but he would know how to put them on again. His supremacy denies nothing to the humblest workingman repairing a track of his road. What made him an autocrat waits any boy of brains and application in the country. The autocrats are made in this country by doing things that other men do not do, or that other men do not do in the same way. And do you say that some men are born to their autocracy? They are the worst handicapped of all men; and if you say that the rich men's sons are in the inheritance of the world's great positions, your mistake is shown in the exceeding small number of such positions you find so filled. We have no conditions to compare with Russian absolutism. For one to begin a cry of "Autocracy!" here is an attempt to make a cause by an empty noise. There can be no autocracy in this country. The richest man in America has but one vote, and the most obscure workingman has the same. And if the rich man buys a vote, he can be sent to State's prison; and if he is not, it is the poor man's fault. There is not much autocracy about that!

The danger of autocracy in this country is from

those who attempt to take laws into their own hands and dictate the ownership and control of private property, exercising absolute power, such as that of absolute monarchs. Nothing has so nearly approached it as the recent dictation to Congress of the way railroads shall be run.

It is a fatal mistake for the everyday man of America, who depends upon a free country for the future of himself and his family, and upon whom the country depends for its prosperity, to allow himself to be used by the malcontents who join to the insane socialism struggling for ascendency in this country the alien brand now being imported. Our workingmen have no oppressors to be delivered from; and if they had, they have the ballot, the most effective weapon the world has ever known. We are not separated in far-distant villages with slow communication and imperfect interchange of common interests. Nothing can concern one community, that national legislation must correct, which does not concern another. We have quick intercourse and a common mind. The demagogue is quickly discovered. Only ignorance can give him any foothold, and the controlling element is supplied with sound literature and the common school leaves no excuse for any neighborhood to be misinformed. Where can happier conditions be found? What better thing is promised? What justifies discontent? The workingman has to work. Would it be an improvement if he did not? What has the

socialist for us that we have not got? He may have something that some parts of Europe has not had, but his blunder there was in destroying government that should have been reformed and not destroyed. It is a blunder to listen to agitators who wish to destroy and have nothing to offer which will improve.

Let the communities in their churches and school buildings put the questions: What do we lack? In what can we be improved? What do the street-corner orators mean by their clamor that our government should be destroyed? What is it they purpose to put in its place, that they have which we have not?

This would be practical. There is no fear of the freedom of such speech. Those were good old days of the debating clubs that met in the schoolhouses. There was no harm because the error was answered.

If the Bolshevists and red-tongued and red-throated socialists are to talk, let them be answered in the presence of sound-thinking, loyal citizens, who will insist upon the reason for their assaults upon the commonwealth by men who have nothing at stake and who have never contributed anything to the common good. Such an examination of principles would establish more firmly the loyalty of our citizens by magnifying their inheritance and would confuse the country's assailants as well. Such persons thrive by attacking the state in the sympathetic crowd when no answers are given.

It is not a little irritating to native-born Americans that comparison should be made with the oppressed and degraded of certain well-known parts of Europe. We are not in such a class. It humiliates us to be submitted to such comparisons. Squalor is not common to us. The saloon debauched us, but left us summits above the proletariat of eastern Europe. Our people, the backbone of our land, should resent with energy the attempt to classify them with the serfs of autocratic countries. It comes from a foe who would be resisted to the death if he assaulted our shores as an armed force. We would shoot him if he landed a force upon us, but we tolerate him when he tells us that we ought to be killed and our government should be destroyed. Is it because the socialist makes himself so absurd that he excites our contempt? That is best shown by the sturdy laborers of our land resisting as an attack upon their intelligence the blatant harangues of the unemployed agitators who justify their loathsome lives by assaults upon the state. Such creatures have no place among the class of Americans with whom they try to affiliate or to join themselves. They claim to represent the world's workers. The American workingman is a citizen, a property holder, and a voter. He is a peaceable member of society and respected. The I. W. W. is a pernicious nuisance, whom self-respecting citizens who know him expel from their midst.

It is not conceivable that the American working-

man in any numbers can be misguided into joining themselves to such enemies of free institutions. It is a great tax of patience to tolerate them without the tar bucket and goose feathers.

The value of the workingman's services is at this point. He is a coordinate force in the improvement of the city or town. His intelligent labor is joined to the capital of the factory and the improved estate of living. But he is orderly. He knows his country. He belongs to it. He defends it against its aspersers. He is trusted with it. These men are our army of defense in our domestic and economic life. Before them, their sturdy, sound character, their sober habits, their contented industries, the thrift and frugality of their homes, their intelligent ballots, Bolshevism can secure no firm footing. It is put to shame. It must retreat in confusion. Our danger is not imminent from that source. It must be transient.

In our country labor receives its return in a twofold way that dignifies the laborer. He contributes to the growth of the nation by his skilled labor upon its enterprises and improvements. The cities have sprung up under his hammer cooperating with capital. The canals connecting inland seas have followed his pick and shovel as he has followed the surveyor's compass and tripod. Ships upon the seas, hurrying trains, the aeroplane, the cables beneath the ocean interchanging the world's latest thoughts, all represent him. He was capable of

interpreting the inventor's creation and became his associate in the world's greatest discovery. In all this he stands man high and is conscious of power in his personality. A million men worked on the Taj Mahal, and not one of them saw its conception or knew upon what or for what he was working. And when it was done it was the tomb of a beautiful queen. But thousands of the workers had been buried in mud with no mark of their burial. The work of their hands, guided by genius, was worthy of the works of God. Your mechanic and artisan shares in the inspiration of his labors in the work of his hands. He breathes its splendor into his soul and he is a greater man for it. He becomes of the stature of what he has done. This is much of the difference among men. The malcontent, the destroyer puts the nature of the work he does into the deformity of his countenance.

The next thing is the wage. The lower gain is in the wage. That is always so of the nobler man. That is what he takes from the capitalist to sustain life. He has a right to it. He cannot live upon sentiment. He will have to take out a certain amount in the conditions of our times, even if it is at the expense of the great achievement. That will have to be reckoned with by the master builders. The amount will have to be determined by mutual agreement. It cannot be all, or there can be no product of capital and labor. It must not be enough to stop the work, nor so little as to starve the man or

render his work inefficient. It may, in certain conditions, pay in products of the business, but the worker must then take his chance and share with the holders of the property in receipt of their bonds and stocks, or capital will go elsewhere and labor will go with empty dinner pails.

The workingman has a practical philosophy and a large one as well. He is sometimes found living in a narrow horizon. He sees only himself. He must not think the world was made for him and that he is all that counts in it. Chanticleer's voice in the morning caused the sun to rise! It was the sun that woke Chanticleer! Labor has its large place. It is a pity that it wastes so much of it in contention over its relative importance. There are great things to keep us busy. Small things adjust themselves to great ones. The world is looking for useful men.

The workingmen are no more the victims of autocracy than any other men who must chance their place in the world's activities; than, for instance, clerks or teachers or farm hands. Life is a struggle for everybody who makes his way, and it is a mistake to suppose that the world is against any particular class, and that you happen to belong to that class, and the only reason you do not prosper is because men better situated are crowding you down. The workingman does not need a consolation society any more than others who have to work their way. It is all a mistake to hire a voice to cry in his wilderness. It would be far better to make his "wilder-

ness blossom as the rose" by self-reliance and self-respect. When men form a mutual consolation society they can always find enough for it to do, and when small politicians and demagogic agitators see its increasing proportions and hear its lamentations they know their opportunity and become self-promoters by taking it up as their cause. It is a great fallacy for laborers to pose as a downtrodden and abused class. Whining never made manhood. Our country is on its way to become a race of whiners. No man is so independent as a good mechanic. His kit is inexpensive, his work is healthful as a rule. Its exceptions are being carefully guarded. Exhaustion is neither required nor permitted. The place a skilled and honest workman or workingman occupies in this country is respected. He should not depreciate himself by conceding that he must protect himself against imaginary oppression any more than his fellow men who are contending with like conditions.

CHAPTER IV

THE WORKINGMAN'S ORGANIZATION

It is both good and bad. It might be altogether good and helpful. It is beyond question that it was wise for him to organize. Advantage was often taken of the fact that the workingman had no court to which to appeal. The rough, unreasonable boss often knew no justice nor mercy, and had the ears of the contractor and the architect. Wages were docked and the man was discharged. Protest upon his part at unfair decisions was answered by profane notice to go up to the office and get his money. The whole issue of wages was in the hand of the contractor, whose margin was between the contract price and what he could save out of labor's wages. These could be screwed down easier than the contract price could be screwed up. The logical result of it all was the combination of the mechanics and workingmen, and as it originated in just grievances, it became organized warfare upon the part of the workingman against what he called capital and the plutocrats, when capital had nothing to do with the question except to decide whether it could afford to build at the price. The parties at issue were contractors, who a short time before, in many cases, were skilled workingmen, and their old associates, the laborers

of the trowel and the hammer and the saw. Up to this point the argument was in favor of the workingman. The battle raged fiercely, for the contractor determined to employ only nonorganized men, and the organized men attacked those who supplanted them with ugly epithets and sometimes with more effective weapons. Men were maimed and at times were killed. The contractors appealed to the civic authorities and brought to their assistance an aroused public sentiment, for violence was un-American. The contest took on the form of riot, and property was burned and torn down. One recalls the Homestead riots and the Chicago railway riots, where hundreds of thousands of property was reduced to ashes in a few hours and a reign of terror seized the communities. The organization increased by its unlawful methods so righteous appeared its cause. It was a fight to the death. The law vindicated the workingman at certain points essential to their victory. Legal right was given to organize and provision was made for arbitration. The controversy was not outlawed, though the methods could not be sanctioned and in certain cases were suppressed by State and national troops. Destruction of property could not be permitted. The organization secured a place with the public, and with more wisdom would have commanded public confidence and indorsement. The men were our neighbors. They were for the most part sober and industrious. Many of them were in the church and

philanthropic societies. They were public-spirited and among our best citizens. It was plain that they were not being treated fairly in many cases. The men had won their cause, and within certain limits were exercising their rights and serving their country. With more intelligence, with a keener discrimination and a more careful determination of bounds and limits, their united efforts would now be welcomed by every community.

There was opportunity for a large development. There was more than the wage question. But it required a degree of statesmanship not found in unions with only one issue. The walking delegate was not of caliber for the larger discussions. There were larger questions than wages, dues, and fines, and membership, and jobs, and unfair firms and buildings. The whole morale was the large question, the character of the organization, the service it must render to the trades. It must not be made a milking machine, it must contribute to the success of business. It must not use every advance of the building interests before it is tried out as an opening for increase of wages. If that is all it has capacity for, or interest in, it will become a burden to the public and will alienate its friends. It becomes a wage machine with a system of barometers on all the street corners. What a vast change in the confidence and interest of the public if these organizations had addressed themselves to the improvement of their mechanics and insisted that for increased

pay there must be a full equivalent of service! It outraged the public mind to have these bodies insist that the man who could only saw a board straight and drive a nail sent out as a carpenter to be paid a mechanic's full wage. What if the union had stood as the guarantee of first-class mechanics, that it was not enough to have a man come over with the union membership card as an indorsement? What surer way to build up a union than to force the common remark: "They may charge more. It belongs to them. They are the best workmen in the town. They not only know the trade, but they are on the job, earnest and enthusiastic"? No organization that is founded upon selfish motives and carries forward its propaganda in antagonism to everything it cannot use can hope to stand in the confidence of the people. Selfishness is the most hateful thing on earth. "He that seeks his life shall lose it" is one of the scriptures that has its proof and commentary in the lives of the people. It is the mildew on many a promising plant.

A good motto for the union would be: "We will indorse no man for any scale of wages for which he has not qualified. We will not undertake the cause of any member until the employer has a hearing. We will not stand for drunkenness, nor indolence, nor neglect, nor trimming of the job. We will insist that the hours having been agreed upon must be kept strictly. For what we receive we will return an equivalent. We will impress upon our men their

debt to the town—the public school, pure water, cheap and constant light, reasonable franchise, the public parks, the paved streets, the municipal courts, the police, the fire department. As an organization we recognize these claims upon us."

And if there were added a sense of responsibility for the best interests of the town—its public buildings, its private homes, the housing of its increasing population—a body of men coordinating in the community interests would force its acceptance and be cordially championed by all the people. Such an organization would stand upon its own merits. It would need no arbitrary rule against nonunion men. It would not degrade itself by running men off a job who for entirely American reasons did not choose to join them. They would make their own way by their high merit and not by brickbats and vile epithets. What other form of competition insists upon the destruction of its competitor by either absorption or violent assault? It is un-American. It is petty tyranny. It is not worthy of manly men. It proposes not to allow freedom of choice. All men must wear their badge and unite with their company. There cannot be a mixed choice. If one of these despised men is found in any distant part of the building or upon another building of the same ownership, every man throws down his hammer, puts off his apron and overalls, and walks out, the dictator and tyrant that he is. Other men shall not work unless they work his plan and wear his collar.

I know a college where it has not been possible to comply with the insistence of this organization. It is an institution not State supported. Its income is from the gifts of the humble in many cases, and always by the benevolent. The conditions of organized labor would increase its expenses thousands of dollars with less efficient help. The demands are refused after explanations have been made and the peculiar conditions have been explained. It is voted in the organization to permit no work to be done in that institution if it can be prevented. If the threat could be executed, the doors would have to be closed. Its work is charitable. It costs twice as much to educate a student as his tuition fees. The young men and young women must go uneducated if we must compete with capitalists or dismiss men who, though altogether satisfactory and of long service, do not belong to a union. The union will not consent. What more direct and indefensible form of tyranny can be boasted by the Bolsheviki? It is astounding that Americans will submit to such invasion of personal right. It is this that forces valuable friends to withdraw from fellowship and sympathy with such tyrannical organizations. No such combination against freedom has survived the liberty of this country. It cannot entrench firmly enough to meet the issue when at last the people force it, as they surely will. There is no principle of right and justice upon which such an arbitrary action can stand. A hospital is involved. Its

laboratory is compelled to stand uncompleted for weeks because union dictators will not permit the class of artisans demanded to finish the equipment. A tyranny that takes no account of the sick and the dying has no claim upon tolerance of humane people. A law should be enacted at once and vigorously enforced, which would protect the public from organizations that purpose to perpetuate themselves at the expense of suffering humanity. How can self-respecting men continue in such a body on such terms? Where is our Americanism? We have been under the delusion that a four-square chance is in the Magna Charta of our freedom to every man. Such a spirit once made the choice of a church, on peril of losing heaven, to be Christian duty. How long before such conspiracy will have to answer in the courts? Only so long as some man will feel compelled to test the unlawful assertion of the arrogance of such a preposterous claim.

It is dangerous to leave such unlawful discretion to any body of men. The effect can be only unwholesome. It tends to disregard law and to assert a right that sooner or later conflicts with good order. Only within a few days we have heard from a labor leader the startling language that if certain concessions were not made to arbitrary demands, it would mean a firing squad! By whose authority? Who will command the firing squad? Such astounding assumption is from the seed sown in unions which dispute the right of men to their constitutional

privileges. Can the public safely, or with self-respect, harbor organizations when such doctrines are preached and practiced? The order, the respect for law, the impartial service of the people is found among the independent workers who with great provocation keep the even tenor of their way. Time will vindicate them. The man who makes a sacrifice of himself for the public good is working upon immutable principles of right; and right, if sometimes slow, is always sure.

We charge that the labor union is founded upon principles directly opposed to the principles of our government, and that every day these two sets of principles are in conflict and our national principles are defied and trampled upon. It has remained for men among us, citizens, to set at defiance our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution which secures to every man liberty of personal choice and action, so long as he obeys the laws made to protect him. It is his right to say what organization, whether church or civil, he shall join, and any man or body of men who seek to coerce him or hinder him because of his choice violates the Constitution which guarantees him his liberty.

It is difficult to understand how thoughtful men with any appreciation of human freedom can join themselves to an organization which is founded upon the denial of that freedom and which uses its powers to stigmatize and degrade men who do not join it, if they seek employment independently, as the laws of

their land provide that they may. The American Constitution says they shall; the labor union says they shall not, and if they do, it does them bodily harm and will destroy or close up the place where they try to work. How American citizens who boast a land of liberty have permitted such an outrage against their country is inconceivable. How a congressman can pass through one session of either house of Congress without urging a bill against practices so disloyal and tyrannical we cannot imagine. It is equally amazing that any community will tolerate an organization which has for its declared principles preventing men of the town to enjoy and exercise their individual and personally assured right to labor where they please, for whom they choose, and for what they agree in wage. The wonder is that the eighty-five per cent of workingmen have not driven out of a town such fifteen per cent of Bolshevist tyrants in the name of the Constitution which they violate and outrage. Are men who submit to such things Americans? Are they worthy of their fathers, and safe guides and guardians to their sons? They lack the first principles of citizenship. They cannot much longer escape the odium of craven cowards. They are consenting to an authority which asserts itself over the authority of our own laws by petty, tyrannical rulers whose one issue is more wage for less work. There is scarcely a thing in the labor union that is American or that justifies a claim upon Americans to a

place among them. (We say this with full appreciation of the place it might fill and the service it could render to the country if it pursued the course which we have mentioned.) But nothing can justify it in obstructing any man in the exercise of privileges guaranteed to him by the Constitution of his country. Who gave any body of men such a right? It is a mistake for them to think that it secures any protection to their organization. It is deadly in its virus. It is the lion, harmless as a cub but vicious and destructive when grown. It has now grown enough to show its teeth and claws, but it has not grown so big that it cannot be controlled or removed.

The vicious character of the labor union is seen more and more startlingly in an arrogant and grossly impertinent assertion of control over business and the interference with personal rights, as the center to which the soviet, the syndicalist, the I. W. W., and all forms of socialism gravitate. The effort of a few conservative members to resist a radical element which is precipitating ill-considered strikes and indulging in sabotage practices is a confession of the fact.

To what other organization do such dangerous elements gravitate so naturally? Where in all our country do Russian Bolsheviki find the suggestions of the overthrow of law and established order cardinal doctrines with them? That labor unions sympathize with such elements we do not charge; but

if they will examine the principles which they are applying to the determination of the rights of non-union men to choose their own fields of labor, they may not be surprised to find that the world's worst foes claim kinship with them. In two or three years the labor unions have been led far away from what seemed to be rather a mild form of protest against those who would not be led by them. In many places to-day they are being used in the efforts which are being put forth to change the whole social fabric and to destroy all government as inimical to mankind.

No severer criticism could be visited upon the labor union than that it has been the rendezvous of men now in prison, and of ex-convicts who have preached the doctrines of destruction to government and are leading the unions to paralyze, as far as possible, the greatest industries of our land. No other organized body of men is in studied and boasted violation of law and of human rights. Polygamy has gone, the saloon has gone, opium has gone, the gambling dens have gone, but the men, who organize to say where I shall work or not work, and whom I shall employ or not employ, walk the streets boldly and send out their walking delegate to see not that I am obeying the Constitution of my country but if I am obeying his selfish constitution which he enforces by hurling a brick through my window or stabbing a dagger into my back. And these men, who started out with the promise of liberty to the

workingman, have become so potent that the politician is afraid of them, and the merchant when they enter his store. The minister preaches about them—not to them, for not many of them are at church—in very general terms. As we have been coming on for a few years, and the Bolsheviki in different forms are reenforcing the evil, it will not be long before we shall find a government within the government asserting an authority destructive to every vestige of our old-time liberty. We shall have to write a new national anthem and a new America, for it would be a travesty to sing "The Star-Spangled Banner" and "My country, sweet land of liberty." What is all of that to six dollars a day for a painter and paperhanger and ten dollars a day for a bricklayer and four dollars a day for an Italian laborer for an eight-hour day, all controlled and protected by a union that will send out daily its walking delegates to secure the privilege to its own members only? It is a free country; let the other poor devils get a job if they can. They shall not pollute their holy men by working with them, even if there should be work enough for them all. Is it not time to stop talking about Bolsheviki and the terrors of the new commune in Russia?

It is not possible for principles so at variance with those fundamental to the country to retain long a respected place among us. One evidence of this is the attempt to carry them, not only into the control of a man's right to the use of his own opportunity in

his own way, without dictation or hindrance by organized opposition, but also into the management of manufacture and business, and into the dictation of terms by what they are pleased to call arbitration, but arbitration under menace of a strike. Not a few people, who wish the workingman well and who would be sorry to see a reversal of labor conditions to the old ways, experience no small satisfaction that this issue is being squarely met by the employers. It must be met if the whole thing is not to be turned over to the employees—the hours, the wages, the men to be employed, and the management of the business. Everything has been cravenly conceded except the last, and has been so easily secured that Mr. Gompers expresses excited surprise that Judge Gary should presume to decide for the United States Steel Corporation that that great industry will continue to manage its own affairs and not put them into the hands of socialists and anarchists whose declared purpose is to disrupt and steal the business. It would seem that the corporation managers upon their record may modestly assume that they are as capable of continuing the great corporation as the imports who do not hesitate to attempt the control of all business wherever hated capital appears and the government itself intervenes.

This particular corporation of steel manufacturers not only does not make any demand upon any man to work in its plants who does not find it to his advantage to do so, but has paid without coercion

astonishingly high wages through the entire scale of the employment. Its own interests are secured by treating its employees generously, who, left to themselves, are contented. When the astonishing scale of wages is published the reply made by the union general is that the contention is not over wages but that collective bargaining, or meddling, shall be granted. And that is not to be by the men themselves, who may be dissatisfied, but outsiders are to be permitted to thrust themselves into affairs that do not concern them and mix the case with outside matters, the chief object being to stir up discontent and strife.

The steel strike was not a strike by underpaid men, but by leaders in a contention for the closed shop. If the greatest industry in the world could be unionized, it meant enormous fees and fines coveted by the managers of union funds. If it could not be unionized, it meant doom to all other attempts of the kind. That it did not succeed was not because the U. S. Steel Company was the greatest of all industries, but because the demands were un-American and anarchistic. It meant the ruin of the business. Better ruin a ruinous union than to ruin the world's industries and liberties.

Both business and employment demand liberty, and they will have it. A meeting called ostensibly to promote harmony, but really to promote the schemes of unionism, has worked most fortunately for the country. It has educated the people to their

danger and turned the inside of pernicious plans out to the sight of all the people. It is not the workingman whose case of underpay can be pleaded tearfully and pathetically. It is the enormous dues in plain view but barred by the open shop. The open shop is the camel's nose. It is the thin edge of the wedge. But it represents eighty-five per cent of the workingmen of the world.

Nothing that is destructive of our industries, that obstructs the free use of the inalienable rights of any of our citizens, that spreads class strife and interferes with neighborliness in communities has any right to the public confidence and tolerance. The union as now managed comes between men living in the same block, separates their wives, and follows the children into the public schools. It creates a prejudice and hatred toward the men who make labor possible, and who promote public enterprises, by branding with odium the capitalists. It talks of autocrats while supporting the most intolerant and offensive autocracy in the world. It calls the woman's husband and the little boy's father, the hard-working, frugal temperate man of the same neighborhood, a scab for no cause or reason than that he chooses to go his own way and use his own liberty as he chooses. It forgets that a scab is a wholesome sign which nature puts out when a wound is healing, and that the dangerous condition feared by all surgeons is the open sore.

The whole institution of the labor union will have

to change its principles and many of its practices if it keeps a place among self-respecting people. (We must either change the Constitution of the United States or change the constitution of the labor union. The first is the plan of radicals in the union.) That will not proceed far before thousands of loyal men will withdraw from all association with these covert and secret enemies of their country. Nonunion men, who are eighty-five out of every hundred workingmen, will begin to choose for their legislators men who at any cost to themselves will secure to all men equal privileges in a free country.

A radical witness before a Congressional committee recently admitted that not more than one man in five desired to join the steel strike. Four fifths of the men were forced to desert their employers with whom they were contented. How long can such an organization hold its members, even if a large per cent of them are foreign born? The source of the widespread discontent over the country is four fifths of it due directly to an element within the organization of the workingmen bent upon destruction of the social order and the government of the country. The people should not miss this plain fact. They should not be blinded by demands for union wages. The posters are printed in red letters. The men know that they are well paid. They know that they are receiving their full share of the profits of manufacture and the building trade. But the natural avarice of mankind is the

Paganini string upon which the agitator plays who has something far on in his plans. If he were to disclose his enmity to the country, he would be driven out of the union, for the great majority of its members are loyal. It is a question as to how far an organization is safe in the hands of men, and how far are they safe in it, who are incapable of discovering the foes within it who are using it for destructive purposes. And it is a significant fact that an organization will be trusted and its mandates followed which does not represent the sentiment of three-fourths of its members. There is something abject about that which does little credit to its membership. The explanation is that its appeal is not to reason but to slavish fear. It rules its own members, as it tries to rule all men, by the arts of tyranny.

Our great country cannot afford to tolerate and harbor such a school of perverts, such breeding places for venomous enemies of our institutions. If it wants to learn how to deal with strikes, it should go to their sources and revoke the charter of every organization where the foes of American institutions find a welcome and are given liberty for their treasonable harangues.

CHAPTER V

MY NEIGHBOR'S STRIKES

A LABOR strike is a poor way to protest against wage or abuse. The consequences of it are too far-reaching and involve too many who suffer innocently. It damages the business which must support the laborers and injures the workingman and the artisan by reducing the product and profits, which have a direct bearing upon wage. It is shortsighted and reacts upon the striker. It also works serious damage to the community in which the workingman has his home. If it wins an advantage, it is unreasonable and strains often to breaking the friendly relations between the employer and employee so essential to the prosperity of both. The arbitrarily forced demands of the laborer are as unfortunate as the arbitrary dictation and control of the employer. There can be no harmonious coordination, no common interest. Compelled employment and compelled labor are other types of slavery. It is distrust on both sides which goes out into the neighborhood and disturbs it seriously. It enters into the values of products and creates an artificial cost of building and manufacture. There ought to be possible some way by which intelligent men can come to an understanding of differences, their causes and

remedies, upon the ground of mutual interest in which contention and strife will be subordinated to the common good. If there is a little less profit and a little less wage, it is a contribution to the highest good of the whole community. This large interest seems to be lacking entirely. It is not secured by the promotion of one side, but both sides. (This would be secured if those concerned were the contracting parties, away from whom should be kept the outside meddler and agitator.) We never have had in this country a greater and more conclusive evidence of the fact that discontent and strikes are not from differences between the parties immediately concerned than we are having to-day. Fifteen hundred strikes in all parts of the country, in every form of employment, at a time when men were never paid so high wages, nor were laboring under so favorable conditions, is conclusive proof that the trouble is an epidemic from one and the same cause. The old-time strike is the seedbed in which the I. W. W. and Bolshevist are sowing crops of discontent and unrest. It is not with the thought of increasing wages. With that they have no especial interest. The secret purpose is to use the workingmen to overthrow our government and to reverse the whole social order. This could not be done by direct attack nor by open and avowed purpose. The workingman would refute any argument that started with such a premise. But too often he will contrast his home with that of his neighbor and listen to the

flattery that the difference is in the oppression of unjust conditions, which his neighbor should share with him upon a basis of justice and equity. The explanation of the strike epidemic cannot be explained in any other way.

The labor organizations have passed out of the hands of the conservative men of the unions. The active class in them has been indoctrinated into revolutionary and destructive schemes and is propagating the theories of common property by an insidious claim for destruction in the shape of disproportionate wage. Men never were paid so much for so little labor as they are to-day. They are going wild with more pay and less hours, which is a shrewd and cunning attack upon conditions which have been stable and prosperous through our whole body politic.

One of the most serious features of this form of propaganda, is that it is coming fast to be asserted as a right, the claim is for legislative right. The strike must be made lawful, for there are many who will not unite in it if it is unlawful. The far-reaching consequences of legalizing the strike are fully appreciated by the propagandists who have recently come into it. It is no longer a strike by workingmen, but by government employees as well. Policemen of a great city tear off their badges and leave their beats to thugs and thieves, regardless of their oaths of office and the sacred obligation intrusted to them.

The time is now fully ripe for our lawmakers to stop all compromises and political timidity and place before this perilous force of coercion the adamant barrier of the law. It should not only be in the case of government-controlled property and management, but all communities should be equally protected. There is every just ground for such legal restraint and protection. The strike weapon is in the hands of the minority. The majority is firmly against it.

The strike is a conspiracy and nothing less. We deal promptly and effectively with conspiracies against property and persons in other matters. What delusion has closed our eyes to the true character of the labor strike which is one of the most glaring forms of conspiracy the world has known? It starts with the organization of a number of men in an agreed plan to close down a plant by withdrawing from it at the same moment all of its employees, and by picketing the entrances to the plant against any help entering the plant to take the places of those who have left. It has repeatedly gone so far as to destroy machines and even to blow up or burn down shops and factories. It recently has been boasted that there is no law against the strike. If there is a law against conspiracy, there is one against the striking conspiracy. If there is not, there should be at once.

What definition of conspiracy do we need if a combination of men who close up factories and pre-

vent their owners from hiring help to take their places under threats of death is not conspiracy? What can be plainer conspiracy than the blocking of railway trains by leaving trains standing on the tracks away from stations, and the leaving of trolley cars where the public will be most incommoded and sometimes imperiled? If we have no legalized protection against such desperate and riotous conduct, our first complaint should be against those who make our laws—or, rather, who do not make them—against the foes in our own communities.

No one will question the right of a man to leave his employment whenever he chooses to do so. But a fair-minded and honest man will give his employer notice and apply the Golden Rule to the act. He will not take a time, or leave in such a way as to embarrass his employer, as the latter should not dismiss the laborer without notice. That all ought to be understood as in the agreement of employment; if not expressed, it certainly should be understood. It is wide of a square deal when conditions are used by the employee or employer which are unfair conditions, and which force disadvantage, embarrassment, or loss.

Public sentiment is rapidly changing toward the character of a strike as something unnecessary and dangerous to the community. It is plain enough that in a time when laborers are the best circumstanced of any in the country, in wages and cost of living, the strike is unreasonable and without excuse.

Everything is not wrong everywhere. The labor union man is the malcontent. He is the striker. The majority of workers in our country are non-union. They are contented and at work. If they believe that they should have more, they say so and adjustments are made by conceding more or by an understanding of reasons why it cannot be done. The order of this world is a law not made by labor unions or social agitators. It is deep in human life and the nature of things, and when followed, things harmonize.

The social order is not going to be changed radically. Whatever changes, if any, ever come into it will not be by the ignorant and certainly not by the vicious. The greatest of all Teachers, who chose the poor and the rich for his friends, brought no railing accusations because the plan of creation provided inequalities, but taught that the rich and the poor live together and the Lord is the Maker of them all. He taught an adjustment of varying talents and properties which the world has provided for two thousand years, and with which it has made its supreme experiment in our great land.

The laboring man is not the only man, and his wage is not the only value to be considered. Wages are not the only thing to think about. A thousand things have been done for him which have to do with his improved conditions in all phases of his life, which he must credit to the capitalist whom he

permits to be called the autocrat and against whom the red socialist seeks to array him.

There is no other country which can be compared with our workingman's country, and any visionary country must be worked out before we leave the certain for the uncertain.

It is significant that the extended strikes and the discontent are with the unions. The discontent is not with the men, but with the management. There are those who must prove up, to use a phrase well understood, who must make good. They have authority. They use money; hundreds of thousands of dollars pass through their hands. It has been stated recently that "national labor leaders collect, disburse, and audit millions of dollars in dues." "Grafters get rich out of such opportunities. These men draw good salaries, live high, and are practically millionaires." "If they can persuade or force three hundred thousand steel workers to pay dues, they would get three million six hundred thousand dollars from them per annum. They can tell the men they can get much bigger pay, less hours to work, if they will strike. If the strike fails, the strikers lose."

How far is the strike to become a recognized institution of our country with the sanction of the courts? It is becoming so general that it is resorted to upon the slightest provocation; it involves the country in values so vast, trampling liberty so ruthlessly under its feet, that it becomes a serious question as to whether it can be tolerated safely. At

this hour it extends all over the country. The entire front page of great daily papers is covered with all manner of strikes of nearly every trade. Even the theaters are closing their doors. It is about time for the churches to be closed for easier terms of religion! The minister is about the poorest paid servant of the public. Why should he not strike! The whole thing is becoming a farce. With the sympathetic strike, the whole land can be put in revolt. If it is not a gigantic conspiracy, will the Supreme Court tell us what it is? And if conspiracy is not a crime against the public rights and privileges, against personal freedom and property, what is it? Was not the Danbury hatters' case decided against the strikers? Is there no way to settle differences of opinions that stop railways on their tracks, machines in the factories, buildings in their construction, hospitals in their repairs, and farmers with wheat and corn rotting in the fields? We cannot too soon come to a clear understanding that adjustments of differences must find some way which will not destroy the property and the lives of the innocent. The plan is unjust and bears unequally upon its people. What is it to nine tenths of the populace that there is a wage disagreement between certain carpenters and a contractor? Why should trolley cars stop until the difficulty is settled? What have thousands of the people in the town to do with the controversy of tin roofers or slaters of some building under construction? And why should the

bricklayers be compelled to stop work until the roofers are satisfied? A short time ago, in a certain town, a trolley line extending into the suburbs of flourishing villages and resorts of summer residences, was tied up because a little branch road continued to hire, as it had done for years, men belonging to another association. People were shut off from travel to their summer homes, and the inhabitants of the villages could not go into the city where many of them were employed and doing business.

They must contribute comfort and profits to the settlement of an arbitrary question which in no way concerned them, that had no moral or commercial feature attaching to it. A dozen communities were incommoded and distressed all to determine the profound question of which union should be forced to yield, not by merit but by arbitrary dictation. Men were forced to remain away from their families or hire, when they could be found, private conveyances through the storm, elderly people with enfeebled health, persons summoned to beds of fatal illness and death, also suffering from inconveniences and for necessities. There was only a feeble protest from a few persons immediately concerned, however much indignation expressed itself privately. It was all passed over as a current event. It was forgotten with the next sensation.

It is strange that it should be so, for it is not a question between parties of local interest only. It is reaching out over the entire country, and threatens

to control government, the legislature, Congress and the courts. It is producing no small timidity among politicians of the better class. It has begun to threaten a strike by employees of the government. That means an attack upon the business of the administration of a great department. It is only what must follow as a sequel to the settlement of business and labor contentions. It is not a legitimate contention with appeal to the franchise or the ballot. It purposes to stop the United States mail, the transportation of farm products, the travel of persons on government business, and of the people in trains under government control. That becomes a more serious thing. It is constructive treason. It is a betrayal of trust. The element of loyalty which enters into such employment and wage is not to be passed about by the whims and notions of the employed. It is not a case of profits, but of securing the proper service at or near cost as may be. Men may leave that service quietly, if not content, but they have neither legal nor moral right to destroy property nor to imperil lives to compel greater wage. If dissatisfied, they must wait investigation and action by the government department concerned. The man looking to a return to office by election cannot afford to subject himself to the degradation of a threat by a body of voters. And no men with a keen appreciation of propriety under the circumstances will make such an appeal to members of the government. This country has seen its first

and, it is to be hoped, its last shocking impropriety of this kind—"Not a wheel will be left so that it can turn." Are these men Mexican greasers or Russian Bolsheviki? They are not talking in the language of American citizens. As such they should be repudiated instantly as a new type of national enemy. Such a threat should remove every man guilty of it from the country's employment at once. There is a difference between the freedom of a democracy which governs and controls by strikes and a republic which is jealous of law and order and which, while securing liberty to citizens within the law with full emphasis, resists all trifling with the institutions and authority of the state. It ought not to require much more of riotous thought and language to give ample warning of what is coming, if the people remain supine and temporize in such matters. Organized bodies of men in large numbers, separated by their pursuits from contact with the people, have a tendency to become laws unto themselves and to proclaim themselves imperiously and foolishly.

We mistake the temper of the American people if this condition is permitted to extend and dominate the country much longer. The fact that every grievance, real and imagined, is resorting to the foolish strike, with its interruptions of all kinds from the roofers to the plumbers until the whole town is in uncertainty and turmoil and no man can predict what his business is to be from one week to

another, will call for a decisive remedy. And the man who leads in it will find himself with an enthusiastic following. An encouraging feature of it all is in the fact that the rioters and strikers are in the minority. They are outnumbered nine to one.

Millions in majority of workingmen are conservative. A majority of forty to seventy-four of the workingmen in the British House of Parliament are moderates. In the United States the majority of members of labor organizations do not favor extreme means, and if they consulted their own judgment would not strike. If they struck at all, it would be to utter a protest and not to resort to violence. The unfortunate thing is that the union is in control of vehement men who enforce their opinions with strong personalities upon persons without reason. The average laborer is not forensic. Passionate appeal influences him and compels many decisions against sober second thought and against the sound first thought of a majority of the members. When into so unstable an organization there comes the protest of the people, it will fall like a house of cards. Its foundations are in demagogy. It cannot stand against the wisdom of its own members and the rights of law-abiding citizens.

It should be conceded, and is conceded by thoughtful people, that workingmen should receive from a contract or manufacture all the wages that it can afford to pay. The demands of living have remark-

ably increased in two generations, in location, in sanitary requirements, in common cleanliness, in the home habits, in food, in clothing, in the education of children. These insist upon more wage. As the cost is now, the pay must be more. Business must share in a fair percentage between the proprietor and the laborer. If it will not, it will have to close and some other business will have to be substituted for it. But it can no more be carried on with violence than it can be made to pay a profit that is not in it without robbing the workingman's home of its wages.

The sympathy of the people of this country is with the workingmen, not patronizingly nor as of an inferior caste; that the workingman would not permit, and that the people have not thought of doing. But while that is true, Americans expect all men to act with the dignity and self-respect of Americans. We have a Constitution, we have a prescribed way of settling our difficulties. There is no excuse among us for any men departing from those established usages. If law can be violated in one way, it can in another. What difference is there between burning a business or destroying its efficiency? It is destroyed in any case. Who pays the bill, who reimburses the lost receipts? It would be a crime for a body of men to go into a trolley office and demand the previous day's receipts. What about tying up the cars and preventing the return of to-morrow's receipts? To have stolen the money out of the com-

pany's safe would have left the police to go about their business. Of the two modes of stealing, the first seems less embarrassing. In the second, the return is not quite so prompt, but it is for the purpose of obtaining the cash nevertheless. The one great lesson which the striker seems not to have learned is that beyond stopping his own work, his right to physical protest stops. He is close upon conspiracy and assault and the abuse of his employer's time and property. There are two sides of the question. It cannot be decided by the success of one side only. The fact of a dispute shows opposite opinions. Both disputants cannot be right. One is wrong or both are wrong; both cannot be right. Both may be so nearly right that they can compromise. Here is where sound sense will take in a third party, like some retired judge with a reputation for probity and fairness, or three well-known citizens who enjoy the full confidence of the town. Arbitration between contestants is honorable. Juries act upon that principle in civil cases; sports are judged so. Disputed lines are run by neighbors of well-known fairness. Men who are willing to see both sides—and it is a strange question that has not two sides—will try every fair method before beginning a course that will let loose the worst passions of the neighborhood and often costs not our property but lives as well. William Hohenzollern little dreamed what force he was releasing when he refused to arbitrate a dispute with which in any event

he had no business. Men can never tell to what length a strike will run when once it starts. Something, however, may be inferred from the length to which the workingman's resort for the settlement of his wage has already run.

We have remarked upon the strike against government authority; but we see the head of the labor federation in Paris fluttering about the peace councils like an agitated and affrighted bird—and a bird of no good omen. The result appears in the claim of the federation, that the terms of the peace with Germany are too severe and should be protested, because they are opposed to internationalizing of the brotherhood of labor. The labor federation is appearing where nineteen twentieths of the workingmen never have been found themselves in their wildest fancies, and for which they do not remotely qualify. Labor unions of America are to determine great ambassadorial questions, and with startling egomania take issue with the United Council of all nations upon the principle of how the conclusions of peace will affect labor! They propose to federate all bodies of men in the country, the army, the police, and all industries, to have all ready for instant use in case of foreign war—an adroit subterfuge for the control of every domestic question. We confess that we have not been prepared for such a far-reaching assumption. The consequence must be a change of government altogether. When a change is desired—as

under such circumstances it often will be—we are not to call upon our representatives in Congress to consider our plan, by a committee in the Senate or the House of Representatives, but we are to serve a notice in any public matter that we advocate that if it is not considered favorably we shall strike and we will tie up the Congress until it comes to a better mind!

What about the rest of us who are of the old-fashioned mind? The authority of our land is no longer to reside in the houses of Congress or the State Legislature. The army will be organized by the federation and can be used by the federation. The police belong to the organization! Great questions of state are to be resolved in the secret chambers of the unions. I would not misjudge them. We are forced to our opinion by published and undisputed statements from their inner councils. What use can our Congress, our courts, serve? The federation is sufficient and the head of it is a Czar, more autocratic than any ruler on earth.

All privileges will be issued and vised by the unions. It is no longer who shall work and who shall not. That is a small question long since worked out. Nothing so paternal has ever been seen among men. Then the prison doors at Atlanta may swing open joyously. Nearing and Debs and the whole like-minded brood of harpies will come flying home. Where will the rest of us fly? Our wings will be clipped that we cannot fly. We shall be in the post-diluvial mud.

No peril so serious has threatened our country as impends at this hour. The Civil War was a small affair in comparison with the massing of millions of our citizens in a selfish combination to put their interests before all others, to push into second place all manufacture and all trade and all transportation, and set aside the representative government itself. This is *"über alles"* beside which Germany is trivial. A people is gone, resolves itself back into tribal barbarism when it forgets law and tramples under its feet the commonest rights and claims of men. Government does not stand in Parliament and Congresses, forgotten now, in statutes ignored and spurned. It stands in loyal men and women who might forget their Bibles but not their constitutions and their laws. But who will remember both? A ship at sea with compass thrown aside, trusting to dead reckoning, is as safe as a country given over to the impulsive passion of bodies of men who push aside our courts and laws and settle disputed questions by angry and vindictive impulses. Voyagers would not wish to sail with such a mariner. We were as safe with him as with lawmaking strikers, or, more truly, unlawmaking strikers.

The world has given its lessons upon the subject, so plentiful that we cannot mistake the impending calamity. No suffering of low wage, no discomfort of high cost of living, can compare for an instant with dethroned authority and order. We once saw a fire raging in the primeval forests of the State of

Washington, when it was a Territory. Firebrands were hurled at great distances, kindling instantly other fires in the tops of the giant firs. It rushed on with terrific force of increasing wind and flame, surpassing any picture of inferno or the destruction of the world that has ever been created by the imagination of man. The days that followed—for the conflagration burned itself out at last by the force of its own heat and flame—witnessed a blackened and wasted land. The proud monarchs of the forest stood gaunt specters of death for many miles, the streams were chocked with fallen branches and blackened boughs.

It was started by a careless hunter's match. That forest has never been recovered. That fire could have been stamped out by a fire warden's boot. There was no fire warden. It was not thought that he was needed. The loss of the great timber, the death of settlers fleeing too late from the torrent of flames, were not in the horizon of the thoughts of the people. The careless hunter did not dream of the awful calamity of his carelessness.

Our country to-day offers the conditions to a social and domestic, an economic, upheaval which we cannot guard too jealously, nor too soon resist. I predict that the time of strikes on this earth is growing short. Intelligent people will not much longer submit to contempt of their laws by an increasingly defiant and reckless body of men who comprise only fifteen per cent of the workingmen of America, and

whose places could be substituted in most instances upon twelve hours' notice. The issue has ceased to be an equitable adjustment of wage. It has now come to be a question of respect and regard for law. The decision is not to turn upon who has the right of a controversy, but who is obeying constituted authority. It is not to be whether men shall have more wages, but whether they shall strike. They shall not enter a conspiracy that puts aside law. It is not so important to prevent strikes to save property from destruction, but to save law from destruction. It is more valuable, inestimably more valuable, than property or human life. It has been estimated that institutions of human freedom are worth more than human lives. We have just settled that question at the cost of millions of lives. No organization, under any plan whatever, should be permitted to tie up any railway or any factory or any building. The statesmanship of the United States must devise some way of protecting all men against all forms of oppression. There is enough statesmanship left to furnish legislation which will render the modern strike unnecessary and which will place it in the category of crime. Before this issue that enters into civilization itself all industrial questions become subsidiary. A menace of law by our own citizens is a summons more severe than the invasion of a foreign foe. We would not tolerate the infringement of our laws and usages from outside. It is worse from the inside.

A law should go forth at once from the Congress so recently menaced that all men who indulge in industrial strikes, or any combination against their fellow men, will be held to criminal accountability, not for damage to property or injuries to persons, but for criminal conspiracy. The union of ten or more men in public demonstration against a railroad, or any form of industry shall be a strike, and a strike is forbidden with fixed penalties by law. Until this is done we shall have confusion and rioting at any time upon the smallest provocation.

Ignorant men, and men of small property interests at stake, asserting themselves as of superior influence and power, will not heed nor be restrained by anything but the accomplishment of their own desires. How far they purpose to go is seen by their plan to get under their control the army, always perilous to the state under such conditions, and the police, as though it could belong to any one party.

A strike should be forbidden, first, because it is a minority attempting to control by conspiracy against majorities. Second, because it is a body of men which assumes authority over property in which it has no right. Third, because it is reckless of consequences to the extreme of property destruction and danger to human life. Fourth, because it drives out of their employment men who as free American citizens have the right to labor. Fifth, because it

assumes right of determining the matter without a vestige of authority from any source whatever. Sixth, because it decides the quality of the men applying without regard to the protest of the contractor. Seventh, because it involves all business by calling out by sympathetic strikes employees of all trades representing the federation—unjust in the extreme. Eighth, because it fixes an arbitrary wage with no discrimination as to the amount of work done or whether one does a much larger per cent of acceptable service than another. Ninth, because the organization limits apprentices and attempts to decrease skilled labor. Tenth, because labor insists upon full pay for men good and bad and indifferent, and recognizes no protest by the builder or employer against unfit men. Eleventh, because a strike is a growing menace to the stability of our country and outrages every source of justice and inculcates in forms new to our institutions loose ideas of loyalty which will work against the peace of the nation. Twelfth, because the strike and its doctrines are working deplorable mischief among the striking men themselves, stimulating arrogance and carelessness concerning fundamental obligations of citizenship.

We have a marvelous heritage which our sires at Concord and Lexington, at Valley Forge and Yorktown, at Monmouth and Bunker Hill, handed over to their children and their children's children. Worthy men, the peers of the greatest men of all time, closely followed them and united with some of

them in the construction of a Magna Charta for the preservation of all for which they fought. What they suffered and what they achieved, more than the world then knew of human freedom, passed into our protection as the greatest inheritance of which mortals were capable. What shall be our answer if by careless diplomacy we negotiate a peace which will rob us of any guarantee of that constitution, the hope of not only our own land but of all lands now struggling blindly for light? What shall we say for ourselves if in careless indifference we allow unquestioned the rioting against our own laws by our own workingmen who set up rule and authority arbitrarily among us, disregarding the first principles of human freedom themselves and teaching men so? The country waits for the spirit of Valley Forge among our men of Congress, both of the Senate and the House, to protect us against ourselves. Will they chance their political fortunes in a cause for which their fathers died?

CHAPTER VI

MY NEIGHBOR'S BAD EXAMPLE

THE profiteer is the legitimate business man, with his just profits, after that business man runs wild by the appeals which great fortunes are making in our land. He is the business man degenerated. Business has much with which to reckon and none too carefully. This is shown by the fact that a majority of business men fail. There is much more to it than buying at a given price and selling at a higher price. The question of property, of the tendencies of customers, their tastes and fancies, the expense of the establishment, and much more than need be enumerated, enter into what we call the merchant's life, so much that it has made him one of the most respectable and dependable citizens of a community. In India he belongs to the lowest and most despised caste. Among the more advanced nations, judged by the highest standards, he is one of the foundation characters, having his place in all that concerns the town in which he lives. He is a fixed and established resident. His home is among us, wisely chosen. His place is one of increasing influence. Much of his capital is in the good will of the people. He must stand by his goods and his prices must be as low as those of like men in his and neighboring

towns. He is not a wandering pack-peddler. He must answer in the same place all the time.

The merchant's calling stands on equal premium with that of the secular professions. It is quite as honorable for a son to go into a business house as it is for the other son of the same family to go into law or medicine. Merchants are patrons of all charitable institutions, and this is so not because it is good business to do it. Merchants, like manufacturers, are cordially disposed to the best things among which they reside. They are, perhaps more than any other business, besieged by multitudes who, as pretended or active customers, plan to take advantage of them. We say this much because we feel that the time has come when vigorous and fearless utterances should be made against another class of traders, sometimes merchants, sometimes manufacturers, and sometimes promoters. They have been grouped under the head of profiteers. They are out for what they can make. It is not a question with them as to how they can make it or what may become of the men and women from whom they make their profits. Such men are not builders of a town nor of a State. They are leeches. They are vampires. Equivalents never enter their heads. To leave value received is not on their consciences. They have no consciences. To be smarter than their victims is what they call ability and shrewdness. Such persons are a misfortune to their town. They add nothing. They take everything away which

they can grasp by fair means or foul—usually foul.

Such characters appear in times of greatest stress, like war or pestilence. They take advantage of the people's necessities. With them it is simply a question of what they can get. They are not content to make a fair profit, if they can make more. The principles that govern in their case are those of a burglar or highway robber. They take what they can get. They would disclaim theft, but theft with them is barred only because it is not respectable to be found out. It is the taking of another man's money in either case. It must be made disreputable, as much so as stealing, to take from the people more than a living compensation for handling a commodity. As a wholesome rule, competition regulates prices. But sometimes it goes back of this and originates in a combination that controls supply and demand and fixes by agreement what shall be the cost and selling price of a given article. A mistake was made in offering farmers a price far above the market to induce them to raise wheat in time of war, instead of making the appeal upon loyalty. The men of military age were compelled to go to war. The men who raised their food were bribed by an offer of twice the market price for wheat. And this was continued after the war closed to save them from loss on the crop sown when the war was in progress. Other men took their own losses; the soldier came back to find that the boy whom he had

left had grown two years older and taken his place in the store or the shop. If it were sensible—as it was not—to make good to the farmer why not make good to everybody out of the people's taxes?

This the profiteer purposes to do. He has a high example. Much of our patriotism took this form during the war. It became scandalous. While Great Britain and France were fighting alone, we were making money. The whole country seemed to have gone mad for money. The moral sense became blunted. Other appeals of nobler motives penetrated with difficulty this incrustation of avarice. The love of money became, as never before, the root of all evil, for the love of it set aside humanity and patriotism with millions who clamored for more wages, more profits, more dividends, when conditions had not changed. And though it is true that many millions poured out in free offerings to the army through great charitable organizations, they were a bagatelle in comparison with the imperious demand for more profits and wage. The question will force itself, Has the country become a den of thieves? Has it abandoned all honor? Does it take things because it can get them? Is its motto, "Things are going; we may as well have our share of them"?

It seems to have become a contagion. Is there to be a rearrangement of the world, a new adjustment of values, a new scale of wages, and a new income all assured by rich and poor to meet the automobile, the

power launch, the flying machine, and the modern home with its luxuries turned to necessities? Is it going to cost more to live and too much to die? What is the problem, what the new order of things? Are the good old days of economy, of modest habits, gone by? Is it discreditable to ask the price of an article and to frankly say, "I cannot afford it"? Can the world yield the income honestly to an enormously increasing population, with the great East with its hundreds of millions, coming forward with Occidental notions of living and with the ever-restless passion for new things? Is there to be gold and silver enough, wheat and corn enough, cattle enough? Will there be labor enough to use the products of mechanic arts? We may say that the world has come on, meeting every new condition and development. It has more wisdom locked up in the earth than the wisest men have had in their philosophies. As it has been in the past, so in the future, to the end of the period, however far away, things will come to pass as the race puts its demand over the counter. But we cannot set aside the responsibility left with all men to meet the present-day demands and to protect themselves from extremes of careless and designing men. The world is not rich enough to permit any of its treasures to be pirated by profiteering, or by any forces that are indifferent to the common good and the ultimate highest estate among men. We all are involved and all fear the burden of that unpopular old stewardship

that has eternally been clamoring duty in our ears.

The plain facts are—and write them out we cannot—that we cannot all have the luxuries of life; and it is equally true that if we could, many of them would not be best for us. Plain living is the most wholesome living. Luxury is more than expensive; it brings its care and strangely does not satisfy. One follows the other with the same tiring and strangely unsatisfying results. This is not the verdict of a misanthrope whom you may chance to meet. The man who made the most ample experiment of all men uses language strangely familiar, whether the experience be boundless or measurable. "Vanities of vanities, all is vanity!" It is a testimony most convincing, but a lesson most difficult to learn. Most of my neighbor's discontent and restlessness with the rich is in this difficult lesson which he somehow cannot master. The old lesson, "In whatsoever state I am, therein to be content" is susceptible of proof as to its practicability of application and as to the wisdom of its philosophy.

It doubtless is not a correct statement that profiteers comprise a controlling percentage of the business of any country. They do not dominate farms altogether. There is much in the condition of currency, its inflation frequently following war and the disturbed operations of supply and demand when millions of men and women, turned aside from their normal pursuits, are made consumers. These mil-

lions who have been producers account for inflated costs. Articles cost more in the market because it is more difficult to secure them. There is a certain increased cost of wheat and corn because labor is scarce and insists upon a much greater wage. In our cities of the East there is vigorous complaint that milk has become almost prohibitive to the poor and severe things are said of the farmer. But corn and bran and middlings have doubled in price, and the most of the last went into war bread and flour. Cotton seed meal, a common dairy feed, is out of reach. Common hay and alfalfa have doubled in price, and farm hands who could be employed for twenty dollars per month as competent help, now demand and get forty and fifty dollars. Milk at double the old price leaves no profit. Besides, health authorities require keen inspection of dairy stables and utensils—the milk must be pasteurized after great precaution of straining and cleansing. There must be boilers and engines and other expensive machinery, and this all means more help to be charged up to milk production. We give this as one example only. The criticism, however, is against those to whom no cost is added, but who take advantage of high cost about them to force up what they sell, including their own labor.

The Italian laborer, whose living expenses are not appreciatively increased, insists upon more than double his former wages. The man who feeds not a spoonful of grain to his cows charges three times

more for milk to the summer residents near him, because he can get it and they cannot help themselves. Here is where profiteering comes in, not by the man of money only but by men who can steal a big price. A craze, as we have said, and would emphasize, like some mysterious and strange epidemic, has seized the people who find their opportunity to get a dollar. The morality of it does not weigh in the scales. Of course it is all a wrong conception of life and duty. Those are too old-fashioned questions to bother about. "Make hay while the sun shines," is their conclusive answer.

The real mistake which people make is in wrongly estimating the real values of life. At the risk of preaching a bit, I venture to quote the greatest Teacher who has ever appeared among men, "The life is more than meat, and the body is more than raiment." That is the hardest lesson for men to learn, yet there is none that is more constantly enforced upon us, or that ought to be more apparent. He that has eyes to see should see it, and he that has ears to hear should hear it. The procession of those who choose the other way as they pass by and leave nothing is appalling. Not that we would deprecate acquisition. It is plainly the duty of men to make the most of their talents, be they few or many, or be it with money, professional skill, or manual labor. There is nothing in the plan of this old world providing for asceticism as a life calling. Everything contemplates activities, service. In re-

ligion the Gospels say an hundred times more about doing, working, than believing or grace. This being so, there is the best of authority for a man to apply his life to serviceful purposes.

To spend one's whole time upon sustaining the physical life with the meats that are suited to it or that are a luxury is one of the ways to lose it. To overproportion his attention to the housing and clothing of his body is one of the ways of starving his mind. The rich cannot afford it, the workingman, by the length of labor or meagerness of wage, should not be compelled to it. The adjustment of the age should not be gauged and timed to putting everything into "rainy days." It is surprising how few "rainy days" there are after all. Multitudes of people place everything for rainy days and then have none of them. Others inherit their savings and use them in sunny days. I do not mean that there shall be no prudence, but the whole life must not consist in "rainy days." Many people overprepare to die. They are no comfort to themselves, and the only comfort they are to others is when they finally go out and leave their friends to go on with the happy use of this wonderful world. Some of the old teachings left the impression upon people that God cares for every other world but this one, but that he had made such a mistake in creation here that he wanted to close it up as soon as possible, and set it on fire and take his people away by the light of the flames. We have vast things to do here, and

we must not blunder about what they are and lose out of life its intrinsic values. The stature of a man is worth too much to exchange it for millions of wealth. Whatever a man does, he must do it so that he will be left in the transaction.

It is not strange that the working element of the nation should follow the example of the dollar men whose successes are constantly appealing to them. A journeyman mechanic became a foreman among them. In a few months he takes a contract and clears up several thousand dollars. He becomes the remark of all of his old chums. He employs them. "Getting along" is the current topic of conversation. When he becomes a bank director it increases. When an expensive automobile goes by with members of his family it creates envy, not unnaturally. What shall be done? Shall the successful mechanic stay a mechanic? Shall he not take a contract? Shall he not have an auto? That cannot be. Shall the less successful be content to let opportunities pass and leave conditions unimproved? Shall they add nothing to their home comforts and always work for day wage? Not if they have the mental endowment and the training to be more and do more. That is not what is meant by being content with one's state. It all turns upon whether man can improve his lot by applying his powers to his capacity. If he cannot, he must not fret, for he merits approval of his own conscience and of his neighbors. He is not to fret himself because of evil-doers, nor

because of well-doers. If he has done as well as he can, he has done as well as anyone has done. The approval was to the man of two talents as much as to the man of five. The only one rebuked was the man who had one and would not try to do anything with that one.

Modern life presents exceedingly difficult problems. No philosopher has solved them yet. How can the peculiarly successful man go on with his successes and not harm the poor man with envy, struggling with his unequal burdens? How is it that a poor man, using all the health and strength he has, and often no small measure of intelligence, can go on, sober and industrious, and never get ahead of the last year? Such a man must carry a ballast of good sense and faith in a divine order of things not to bend before the unequal head winds. Many are not so ballasted, and they will seek explanations in ways that do not accuse themselves, and that lead them to accuse the prosperous. It must be that men profit by adventitious ways, not by merit; they have taken something that belongs to the poor. It matters not how many of the poor they have employed, or how many lessons of thrift and economy they have urged upon them; they are represented by Dives, and the poor man is at their gates and the dogs are his companions. This is unjust and unfortunate. It works against the poor and interferes with sound economy. It does not explain the poor man's misfortune and failure, nor the rich man's riches.

The rich and the poor dwell together. There is divine wisdom in the plan. They always have so lived. They always will so live. Noble characters are in both. It must be the divine order. With our finite wisdom we think we see that it would not be fortunate for the world if all were rich, nor would it be well if all were poor. Neither estate establishes a monopoly of manhood. Some of the choicest hearts that ever beat in human breasts have known nothing of the luxuries of wealth nor scarcely the privileges of home comforts. They belong to a class led by their Master who had not where to lay his head. The birds flying above him were better off than he. They could find nests in the trees. Such persons have been great in the riches of their thoughts and their deeds are recorded among the famous. The rich also have left their imprint along the paths of time. They have been friends of struggling humanity. They have not forgotten the poor. Often their good is spoken evil of, but equally high do their names stand among the world's chief benefactors. From all classes the man looking for good can get it and find inspiration which will make life a joy, a joy that the rich never found in riches only, a joy of which poverty cannot deprive him.

It all turns back upon oneself—honesty, frugality. "The Cotter's Saturday Night" was enviable in its interior to the Lord's castle. Thousands of them have been scattered over the earth. You always rejoice

that you were born and raised in one. You saw development of sturdy man and sweet, gentle woman there. They did not complain. If their neighbor had more, they had less taxes to pay, and their charity, if less in dollars, came from hearts as sacredly devoted to good. No neighbor appealed in vain up to the measure of their power. The country took their sons and left in the home no complaint of hard luck. They did not all come back from Southern battlefields. But they are located in heaven. Sweet memories are around the old brick walls, beneath the arching elms, among the hollyhocks and lilacs, the sitting room within, with wide, joyous-mouthed fireplace, the light stand and the Bible on it, the very figure in the oilcloth carpet where the sire knelt in morning prayer, whether the boys were home or away, whether the day were crowded with work or at leisure. Do you know any place of riches that you covet in exchange for that old place of moderate means, but infinitely rich in virtue and love? You learned there not to despise riches, for no unkind words of envy were spoken there. You learned there the riches, the charm and grace of what the world calls poverty.

I sat one day in my launch, a pretty thirty-foot boat, the gift of a friend. It was at the Thousand Islands. The great yachts went by, some of them touring palaces, some swift Herreshoffs. They were beautiful. It seemed that they must give great happiness to their owners. They cost many thous-

ands of dollars. They were manned by ample crews on deck and in galley and saloon. They were the steam yachts of the rich. If I had been rich, I suppose I would have had one! While I was watching them and musing, a several-times millionaire, an acquaintance, came down the little dock and got into my little boat. He owned one of the finest and fastest of those great steam yachts.

"Well, Mr. H.," I said, "this is rather a small boat for you to board."

"Yes," he said, "I came to see it. Isn't it fine. Do you know, I'd rather have it than mine. I believe I will buy one like it."

"Well," I replied, "I would exchange with you, but I could not run yours up to Kingston and back once!"

Here was the secret illustrated. The burden of life was upon the rich in his recreation. I knew enough not to envy him the price of his riches.

It is folly to imagine that the rich are having the best of it. He is not the man who sleeps the soundest. What he took on to make him independent has made him a slave under a severe taskmaster.

And again we run against the conflicting and mixed problem. We cannot make our choice, for every man must bear his own burden and bear it cheerfully. But happy is the man to whom a wise and kind Providence makes the allotment. What is best for me is the doctrine of contentment that will harmonize this world. Get it adopted universally.

Let it be everybody's creed and it would be all the millennium the world would need. Then every man would use the most that is in him for the best that he can do, for everybody he can serve. It is not what we get out of this world, but what we can put into it. It is a poor specimen of humanity who can take pleasure in transferring by profiteering other people's money to himself. And not much better the man who envies another what he has got. Can you imagine yourself changing your identity with another? There is a certain serious responsibility that goes with all that one has. There is a joy in it, if it belongs to him, but not much comfort if it does not. Manhood, not money, is the key to a prosperous and contented life: what is needed, but not enough. Enough a man never has, and with it could be very miserable. What is needed is not large, and it means a comfortable home for the man and his wife and children; it means some books, not many, but the right ones; it means the children sheltered at home with clean thoughts and reverent words, and dressed comfortably for school and not neglected by church or synagogue, and watched against disease. That is all of it.

We do not believe by any means that the plan with American workingmen should be to scrimp them to the last dime. That is not the way to make Americans. And no American is under any moral or religious obligation to be contented with what is left after the owner takes his profits, and the con-

tractor gets the lion's share, and they roll on in their luxury. The business of this world has an obligation in the matter. It is not to Hipponicus with calves, but Hipponicus with sons. It is not builders with automatic machines, but builders with men. And the business is as much obligated to the men who work as the workers are to the men who hire, and more, for the man who hires has more to be obligated with, and his obligation does not cease with well-fed and clothed workingmen, as with well-fed, blanketed and groomed horses. Men are units of civilization. They are men. They are placed under great and sacred responsibilities. There is something more than feeding and clothing and housing with their problems. You go into their homes and you hear the father saying to his sons: "I want you to have a better chance than I had. If I had had what I mean that you shall have, I wouldn't have missed the foremanship that Tom Cronan got because he knew how to figure." America has widened the whole horizon of the workingman's sky, and much more of his children's, and the business of America must be constructed upon a plan that will afford the mechanic and the day laborer a wage that has a margin left over and that makes him known at the savings bank. If it is unfortunate for him to covet the rich man's automobile, he has a right to his cottage home, healthfully located. If it is not among broad acres of lawns on a fashionable street, it is where there are water and light and

clean and wholesome conditions of every kind—free from dirt and poisonous odors. And the inside of the cottage home is as wholesome as the outside in every way. Business must be planned to meet these things and pay for them. It is an American citizen and his wife and children and cottage that are being hired, the mortgage and doctor's bills and taxes on the cottage that must be reckoned into the wage, not by the laborer only but by the employer as well.

If the workingman should not strike nor be permitted to strike in the common interest, the employers ought to make it impossible for him to strike as a just protest. He should have by common agreement all that an American citizen has a right to expect from the manner of life he has chosen. This is something more than a market price. He is not selling his labor as a grocer sells groceries. He is a partner and draws his share in wages. It is beyond question that the workingman has not been drawing his full share from the business of the world, or the employer has been drawing more than his share. The employer, be he owner or contractor, prospers. He chooses his home location. He lives usually in conditions of elegance in comparison with the man whom he hires by the day or the week. It is granted that he invests more, and the employer's shares are as an hundred to one. But should he take away the shares of the workingman? He should not until the workingman's shares are large enough to return him self-respect and the clean and wholesome com-

forts of life. The laborers see it all, and the more intelligent, the more they see.

"We were laborers together a few years ago, this business man and I. He was as poor as I. The difference has not all been in capacity, nor the inequality of luck. Some of that which he has got is mine. I am not reasoning so because I am a socialist. I have no sympathy with the I. W. W. But there is something of that estate that is mine, and when they open his will and read out his tens of thousands to his boys, I know that some of it belongs to my boys, and the difference would be a comfortable margin the way we live. I do not feel that it is mine because the world owes me a living. I know that it does not unless I earn it. But it is mine because that man did not pay me what I earned and what I needed to take respectable care of my growing family, what the business more than earned. He did not pay me what his business was paying him, and it paid him what it did because I and Jake and Bill and Bob and a lot more of us put into it something worth as much to the business as his money, and something without which it never would have returned him a dollar. When the work of the factory was figured for the year, more of it belonged to us boys. They say it made a hundred thousand dollars above expenses for the year. Twenty thousand of it belonged to us boys and our families.

"We make no claim on the factory or the machinery. Not a dime of it belongs to us. If the

business were to close out, we would have no right to divide up the property. We have no right to stop a machine or to hinder the business in any way if we are not satisfied. Our appeal is to sound public sentiment, and to the sense of fairness of our employer. All we ask is that he give me and the other boys what we put into the business to make it succeed. He used his capital. We put in ours. We feel that we have a right to a fair return on it. We don't see how the men who hire us get out millions in a brief lifetime if the fellows in the shops get what belongs to them."

And we confess that after hearing this man talk this way, we have some explanation of the discontent, and even some of the bitterness, that voices itself in the subject of capital and labor in these days.

But there is a side to the complaint which my neighbor has not seen and which offers its answer in the form of a fixed law which seems irrevocable. It is that which we call demand and supply. That regulates the market both for goods and for labor. If goods are not demanded, labor is not wanted; and if labor is a surplus supply, business will not pay what the supply does not require it to pay. It is a fine theory that the laborer is not obliged to sell his labor in the market like chattel, but it is a plain fact nevertheless that that is exactly what he does. That is what he has to sell, and the market is made by that which his labor produces. It is high or low as

products are more or less and the demand for them is great or small. These things are not forced up by an agreement upon the part of manufacturers. If there are good years, profits go up and so do wages. Wages have shifted up much oftener than profits. The workingmen in the unions have insisted that they must go up without regard to production, whatever happens to business. And business could do much better by labor, and would do it voluntarily, if it could depend upon fixed and reasonable conditions in labor.

There are sometimes great profits in business far beyond the expectation of the business and beyond an equal division with labor, but it is equally true that there are exceedingly bad years when the losses threaten bankruptcy. Labor is paid those years, however, and often the conditions are not mentioned, as it would hurt credit, and labor does not appreciate it.

CHAPTER VII

MY NEIGHBOR'S PROPERTY

PROPERTY rights have been acknowledged ever since man found it possible to secure property by discovery, by toil, or by inheritance from those who had a right to convey to others what they cannot take away with them. Possession has sometimes been secured by savage strength, unjustly and cruelly; but as that was the only law, it established a right of possession which could not be reversed until some greater savage strength came along and captured it. It was not a right acknowledged in justice, but it had to be admitted and conceded in fact. In civilized forms it has been established in what we call law and property—voices as laws are interpreted, usually justly, sometimes unjustly. No man can take it because another has it or has more than he has. No man can assert a claim because he thinks the world is wrong in dividing it. No man can go out with nothing and establish a claim upon anything. He must have something to start with to get anything. "To him that hath shall be given." A theory has recently been reasserted that the wealth of the world shall be divided among all the people. And only the other day, in Germany, the land from which so much misery has come in five

years, the workingmen decided that men were under no obligation to work and that they would not work. And yet they asserted a right to property. But to whose property? And where are they to find it not claimed and occupied by an authority, at least by as firm an authority as these men of Bremen can bring with them? And what is the argument that is to dispossess one man and give it to another? Because he needs it? So does the man who has it. The law of necessity works both ways. What proportion of it shall be taken? Until the want is satisfied? And shall it be surrendered by its owner until he is willing to let some or all of it go? Then he would never give up a dollar of it, for if there is anything inherent in man, it is the right of property. *It is his own.* It inheres in himself, as do his eyes, his hands, and his feet. It is peculiarly, naturally, of himself, and it is so deeply interwoven into the structure of his being that man will defend it with his life. He will fight for it. A man will give you five hundred dollars, but he will not permit you to take from him five cents that belongs to him. This sense of property right is woven into the whole fabric of the civilized structure. It is found among savage tribes as well. The exigency of having all things in common and dividing things among them according to their wants was for a time only. It was not a foundation of a new religious community. It is a plan which never has worked and never can be made to work until man has been changed into another kind of being

and is translated to an existence where he is not thrown upon his own resources and no longer has personal obligations to meet with money.

If his property is to be taken away from him, it must be done by some one who is stronger than he; and if it is sanctioned by a community, it must be by those who can make that community stronger than by those who resist this new doctrine of property rights. And that will last only until the strength is reversed or another assertion of right is enforced. The same spirit that robbed to-day's rich will rob to-morrow's robbers. You may change the dollars, but you cannot change the nature of man. It is the same nature in the robbers, so far as acquisition is concerned, that you find in the robbed, however they differ in their sense of the right of possession. It is difficult to appreciate the difference between a highwayman and a socialist or Bolshevik who organizes to rob communities of their properties. In both cases it is an effort to get something with nothing, and to get something in which there is no inherent or acquired ownership. In one case it is one robber, in the other it is a band of robbers. We call them bandits. If a property is held unjustly, the world has never recognized that it is safe for men who claim that it belongs to them to go and get it. It must be determined by processes of law. Fundamental to this whole question is a very old law, forbidding a man to covet even so humble an object as his neighbor's ass or so high and sacred a

person as his wife. Bolshevism, which is taking another name in this country, insists upon the whole list, from the ass to the wife. You say, "O no! We admit no family right and claim nothing but undivided money." Why not? The man owns both the ass and the wife. The law gives him both as it gives her both. You abhor taking the wife, but Bolshevism, from which this beautiful new division is being enforced, makes no distinction. The logic is inevitable. If your neighbor's wife suits you better, take her. If your neighbor's horse suits you better, take him. If your neighbor's house suits you better, move into it. He has nothing that you want which he has a right to keep. Property is indefinite. It is in the land, in mines, in fields, in forests. No man has a right to any more of it than you have! If he has got it, it is because he got there first and has no right to hold it away from you because you were not born first. Let there be a new deal all around and let us all start new, and those who won't divide, shoot them!

In other words, there is no property, take it. What is it after they take it, and what do they want of it? It would divide very small if it were divided among all the peoples of our country, and smaller if the area were extended. What would be done with it then? Would every man have the same? The same enterprises? Perhaps there would not be any enterprises! Same expense of families? Perhaps they all will be the same number. Possibly they

would be assessed according to their number. The same tastes and personal expenses? There should be no different tastes. Perhaps what was left over would be assessed and be taken around to the common storehouse. If anyone was overfed and overclothed, and was extravagant beyond what was left for him, why, shoot him!

What about public enterprises? Was there ever common intelligence sufficient to invest the world's capital? Perhaps a few socialists of extraordinary capacity for finance could do it for the crowd. What better would that be than the present arrangement in which a few do it, and take any and all into the company who have anything with which to buy? Would the control be any easier if there were unsatisfactory results? How is it working in Russia? When you try to shoot the upper ten of the new deal the shooting is not so easy. But where is the capital coming from, when the distribution is all made on the community plan according to the sustenance in which all shall live with abundance? There must be an assessment, must there not, and a new redistribution? How long would it be, if all things were made equal to-day, before some would have more and some less and some most and some nothing? It is a beautiful theory, but tested by the practical affairs demanded by a real world and not by a Utopia, it would fall to pieces and disappear like the vapors that hang beautifully along the valleys until Old Sol comes along and sets the world at

work. The great enterprises of this earth are not set in motion by need nor possibilities. They begin to move as some one mind, some one energy moves out ahead of his fellows with what he is and what he has. He inspires others with as much or more than he has to join him. Columbus started alone and came near being thrown overboard by the crowd that could not see with his courage and faith. They did put Hendrick Hudson and his boy adrift in a small boat to perish in the bay that afterward was given his name by men great enough to appreciate him and know him. All the great discoveries and inventions have been made by individuals working on the plan of individualism, men with their heads and shoulders above the common multitude.

There was one enterprise that is an exception. Everybody seemed to join in it. That was the tower of Babel. But before they got through one man did not know what another was thinking about, and they scattered before their tower reached heaven, and the name of the enterprise became a synonym for the confusion of tongues, because all tried to give their opinions at the same time! That is to what we would revert and backward to monkeys in the coconut palms and cave dwellers, and start over again with one cave man in one cave and one family. The supreme folly of such a theory is too easy of demonstration for it seriously to threaten the order of things by which all progress has been made from the beginning of time. More than ever

in its history the world demands individuals for leadership, backed by the confidence and support of thousands who are not leaders but who are mighty followers and whose following has always made great and safe leadership possible.

When you start out to have all things in common, you not only must take the uncommon things from the uncommon men by force, which is robbery, or by forced law, which is bandit robbery, but you run against a natural law of the Almighty, written in human nature as universally as any human trait you can name. Acquisitiveness is natural to the baby that reaches out its hands for a rubber ball or for its father's gold watch. Ownership starts the first fight between two boys for a marble. There is no pleasure in having another own things for you. It implies incapacity. Only a few days ago a man won a fight which has been in the courts for years, over his title to his property. It was his and it was well invested, and he received his dividends from its earnings regularly. He had no objection to the trustee. But it was *his,* and for that reason he insisted upon its possession, and would have died fighting for it. And those who contended that he was mentally incapacitated, and gave that as a reason for withholding his property and managing it for him and had the authority of the courts with them for years, never presented his ceaseless contest over his property as an evidence of his insanity. It is not possible to imagine soundly developed men

and women without this trait of character. The conclusive evidence that they are not sound would be that they lack it. We have developed it from the elements of our creation. The vindication of our source in an Infinite Wisdom is in what we find within ourselves, and not the least of these is in our capability to acquire our livelihood without being fed by the quails or from a spontaneous manna, and the intensity with which our possessions are held as our own. It is of our personality. Great personalities are never behind the Bolshevists' and socialists' plan of robbery, nor the ignorance of their blind efforts to reverse the order of human nature which has become intense with the assertion of the larger manhood. How have these collective highwaymen got along when they placed themselves in the place of those whose property is to be divided? Are they in the list of division upward? It would make a difference if they came in the scale of taking away half they have for the common good. They answer that by protesting their taxes. You run against the law of human nature again. "The poor man's all is as dear to him as the rich man's all is to him." The poor man's little is as much a treasure to him as the rich man's millions are to him. Put the test of this idiotic scheme upon the man who has fifteen thousand dollars in the bank, and show him that the division will give each man five hundred dollars, and I venture that he will not attend the next communistic meeting. It will make a decided

difference, and in the experiment you will get a reliable test of the sincerity of the theory that spins finely until you strike the man who scales down and not up. Then there is a knot in the thread and it tangles and breaks. The robber theory works out so long as you work it upon those who have things you covet. It violates God's law and man's own nature as it came from God.

Perhaps it has not occurred to these new theorists of the common good that the only value which property has they propose to take from it, and that by dividing it and assigning it to those who will not work, but clamor to be supported by what other men have earned by brain or muscle or both, they destroy values utterly, and that the time would soon come when there would be nothing to divide. The value of property under the old plan is that it is a man's own and that he can add to it and improve it, and that he may use it to protect his family from future want. They do not need to eat at a common crib, apportionments made upon a scale from unproductive funds. They can use it to promote the public interests in education, religion, and philanthropy, and it is themselves who acquire it and enter into the use of it. It is the only inspiration that comes from property. Men never have been contented with it in any other form, whether the Spartans or the early disciples and followers of the Christian faith. They have always reverted to the present plan and managed its abuses in ways that intelligent construction

of laws and practice have provided. They have revised, but not destroyed. What is it expected to accomplish by any different plan? The restlessness seems to come along the line of those who stand for the least under the present plan in their community in the activities of their fellow men. Has anyone seen the possessor championing a new order of things, or are they using what they have in opportunity or capital, be it muscle or money, to improve their condition? The specimens of discontent and malcontent are the strongest argument against the plans of the thieves. Are they the men whom a community seeks to manage its financial affairs, or who are found in the great enterprises that want new executive ability, more water, better and cheaper lights, improved transits, and sanitation? For what do these refuse of mankind propose to use the wealth that is not theirs? What better things are they to do? What more intelligent and efficient things? Are they going to put in one day of fruitful, uncomplaining work? Are they going to pay a tax when they get other men's money? Will they run the railroads and pay the deficits with other men's money and their own brains that never earned money of their own? Does it not make your blood run hot to think of the preposterous insolence of this proposed revolution? It does not, because you treat it as a joke. It seems so, or it did a few weeks ago, when a correspondent of one of the papers of my town notified me that if I did not take care my

"elegant home would be taken away from me and some poor man would be living in it!" Why one! Why not a tenement full if you want to create the tenement kind. Did the papers make no reply because they thought it a joke! It did seem so, but when men begin to joke with God's laws, written or incarnated in men, they become dangerous.

It seems to you incredible that such a state of things can become possible. But what other practical results can follow the logic of such theories as those of a Debs and his kith, well known to our country at large, who have one or more outspoken representatives in every considerable town and secret sympathizers in some of our colleges? It is not greater freedom of thought that is being advocated. That is not lacking. It is a readjustment of incomes by taking from those who have and giving it to those who have not. No provision is to be made in the plan for those who are impoverished by having what they have taken away from them. Our I. W. W. is Russian Bolshevism. It is the roots from which it sprung. It is the logical conclusion of Bolshevism. What is being done in Russia to-day the I. W. W. agitators would do if they dared venture their infamous game here. As preparatory work their propaganda is going forward all over the country. Driven out of far Western cities by brave executives and citizens, it invades others, or returns under other forms and offers clandestinely to any and all who are discontented with their lot and station the

inequality of property as the cause of their oppressive burdens. They heard it in the saloons. It is an insidious doctrine taught in their unions. The ranging discontent with good wages and short days is the increasing spread and propaganda of our Bolshevism and I. W. W. ism under prudent names and by secret and concealed methods. Its blow is aimed at property, all kinds of property—private, corporate, and public; in investments, manufacture, and commerce, and public improvements and franchises. And it promises no improvement in investment or manufacture. It proposes to divide with the unsuccessful, who are not likely to succeed with other men's money. It means a reign of ruin, trains standing on rusted tracks, factories with smokeless chimneys, stores with unhinged doors—a world of loafers: manhood gone, property gone, education gone—tramps everywhere.

If that condition cannot exist in our country, it will be because we are too deeply rooted in the blessings of American freedom, too firmly grounded in nationalism, and are too universally prosperous, from the workingman with his cottage home to all conditions of property rights and privileges. But we are not secure enough to pass off the present insidious and fiendish propaganda against individual ownership as worthy of our ridicule. We cannot fortify against the threatening peril as an ostrich tries to escape his foes by putting his head in the sand. It would take but a

short time for the work of the torch, the bomb, and the silencer rifle. It would take much longer to repair damages than to prevent them. The combined I. W. W. Bolshevism and unions count upon the confidence of the American public. We cry "*Peace*" when there is no peace. We try to plan with safety to ourselves peace for the world against war, when in our midst to-day is the most dangerous foe that has ever threatened the world. German militarism is only a circumstance compared with it.

Of peculiar interest is this whole matter to my neighbor the workingman. His patriotism is an essential part of his religion, and the feeling of individual ownership—his own by the right of his intelligent and skilled labor—is a fundamental element in his civilized life. There is no promise in communism even if upon sound principles, but a general charity to the incompetent by age or poverty. It is infinitely more honorable than stealing and murdering, but it is not the way the world ever has arranged successfully to promote the interests of a people. The promise is in the dinner pail, the overalls, the white cottage, the children running along the streets to the public school, the day one-third in faithful labor, one-third in recreation, one-third in sleep; a comfortable living with savings, if a small margin, on the mortgage or in the savings bank. The man owns himself and what he secures belongs to him. A few dollars a year takes care of accidents or sickness with lost time. The signs of thrift

are all through the town. The property is not evenly divided and the brain work and responsibility are not either. But everywhere things are being done, new enterprises are being started, every man that wants work is employed. The workingman is a partner in the business. For what he puts in he is getting a good share from it. The capitalist is his friend and the friend of his humble home, and takes a business interest, if no other, in his health.

A man who is the head and chief manager of the greatest monopoly in our country, as he came down the gangplank of the ship which landed him from months in Europe, uttered a Bolshevist malediction: "The business magnates, the capitalists will learn that they are not monarchs of all they survey." Why are they not? Who are if they are not? The workingman is monarch of all he surveys; so are the lawyer and the doctor. It is the only monarchy we have in this country. Every man is the monarch of himself and what he has. So is the demagogue who utters such a cowardly threat against the men who are projecting the mighty enterprise of the land and who with their combined influence constitute infinitely less of a monopoly than does this potentate who rules over crowds of irresponsible men who threaten with destruction the work which capital has builded and who threaten the very Congress of the United States if their demands are refused.

There appeared recently in Leslie's Weekly an article by the Hon. John A. Embry, who has been

United States Consul in different parts of Russia. It is so seldom that Americans see anything upon the subject stated so authoritatively and so clearly and circumstantially, that I have obtained the consent of my friend, Dr. Sleicher, editor of Leslie's, to use it here. It substantiates all I have said and more concerning the diabolical purposes of destructive socialism:

By far the greatest surprise Americans returning from Bolshevist Russia experience upon their arrival in the United States is the hopelessly confused state of public opinion on Bolshevism and the Bolsheviki. One sees it everywhere. My friends and colleagues, who like myself have seen service in Russia in the diplomatic or consular service or other allied work, whom I have met in the United States since my return have expressed to me the same surprise and wonderment which almost overwhelmed me upon my arrival. Barring two possible exceptions (Raymond Robins of the Red Cross and Jerome Davis of the Y. M. C. A.) no American, whose parents were Americans before him, and who has held a place of honor or trust in the United States government, or in anything else where veracity and good character are requisites, ever has returned from Russia without characterizing the Bolsheviki as the greatest criminal organization the world has ever seen. Even Colonel Raymond Robins found there was very little good he could say for the Bolsheviki when testifying under oath before the United States Senate, while Mr. Davis to-day would doubtless deny with warmth that he ever felt any admiration for the Bolsheviki. Yet despite all

this the average man, if you ask him what he thinks of the Bolsheviki, will say, "I hardly know what to think about them, the reports from Russia are so conflicting."

Why are reports from Russia so conflicting? There is but one answer. The reports are conflicting because there is a powerful and well-organized campaign of Bolshevist propaganda being waged in the United States. The papers constantly give evidence of it, while formerly reputable magazines give almost all of their pages to it. Both the parlor Bolshevists and the other variety are cooperating in the United States to confuse the American people on the issues of Bolshevism. They know full well that nothing could injure the success of the Bolshevist propaganda in the United States like widespread knowledge among the mass of the American people of what Bolshevism really has done and is attempting to do in Russia. Every report coming from Russia derogatory to the Bolsheviki (and no honest report could be otherwise) has to be at once contradicted or smoothed over by our parlor Bolsheviki in the United States. From time to time American Bolsheviki visit Russia and pretend to make an investigation of conditions there. They then lie in wait for the American who, through no choice of his own, has lived in Russia during her many revolutions in the service of his country, and finally comes back on furlough and tells his friends and the press what he has seen. They brand everything he says as being malicious slander against such friends of the people as Lenine and Trotsky. And since parlor Bolsheviki happen to be far more numerous and vociferous than honest Americans who occasionally arrive from Russia, most of what the lone returning

American has to say is lost in the mass of lies and denials that get into print about it. The same is true of books that get written about Bolshevist Russia. To one book which describes the Bolsheviki as they are, there are ten books which are written for the express purpose of describing them as they are not.

With such a barrage of misrepresentations, denials and lies about soviet or Bolshevist Russia, it is not surprising that Bolshevist propaganda has been able to make headway in America during the present trying conditions incident to a world-wide industrial readjustment. However, I will confess to being shocked when I learned recently from an American of national prominence that while on a tour of investigation in sixty American towns and cities, which he had just completed, he found evidence of active Bolshevist propaganda in every one of these towns, and that in some of the large cities he discovered secret soviets, organized and holding regular meetings. It is no longer correct to say that Bolshevism is at our door; it has crossed the threshold.

With such a condition facing us as a nation, it is imperative that public opinion no longer remain confused on the issues of Bolshevism. The man of education knows just little enough about Bolshevism to cause him to sneer about it and not see its danger; the man of no education, who lives a life of drudgery, with little or no hope in what the future holds, knows just enough about Bolshevism to feel inclined to grasp at the hope of better things it holds out and not see the pit that lies at his feet.

Defined briefly, a Bolshevist is a person who believes in the immediate overthrow by force of all existing social, political, and economic institutions.

If we ignore the writings of the parlor Bolsheviki which only serve the purpose for which they were written, i. e., to cloud the whole issue, and the writings and public statements of such men as Nikolai Lenine, Leon Trotsky, and Eugene V. Debs, it is not at all difficult to get at the substance of the Bolshevist platform. According to these leaders, the tenets of Bolshevism are as follows:

(1) The immediate abolition of the institution of private property by means of force. All private ownership of house, land, and all means of production must be immediately abolished. The owners of these things, because of their exploitation of the proletariat, shall receive no compensation for their loss.

(2) There shall be no wages, in the sense of one man working for another. The only wages will be those paid by the state for productive labor. There will be no rents, no profits, no interest.

(3) Nationalization of all industries. The workingmen shall have full control of the industries which shall by nationalization become the property of the whole people. The distribution of the products shall be attended to by the state. "From every man according to his ability, to every man according to his needs."

(4) The consumers' goods now in existence—houses, clothing, food, etc.—shall be divided up among the working class which produced them. The former owners of these things shall receive a proportionate share only in case they join in good faith the cause of the social revolution.

(5) All who oppose Bolshevism or the social revolution, whether members of the propertied class or not, shall have no rights a Bolshevist is bound to

respect. Under no circumstances shall they be allowed freedom of press or association. Those who resist the new social order by force must be put down by the most violent means possible in order to strike terror to the hearts of others who otherwise might be led to follow their example.

(6) The social revolution is at hand. It is world-wide. To succeed for long anywhere it must succeed everywhere. The revolution means war to death with the property-holding classes. The slogan of "Proletarians of all lands unite" must be changed to the battle-cry of "Proletariats of all lands to arms."

(7) Family life and family ties must be weakened in every way possible, because the family is the greatest bulwark of that iniquity of iniquities, the institution of private property. This is to be accomplished by extremely lax marriage and divorce laws, public sanction of "free love," or, if the population can be induced to stand for it, the "Nationalization of women."

When the Bolsheviki overthrew the Kerensky government in November, 1917, and Lenine declared the dictatorship of the proletariat, Russia entered upon a social experiment, the aim of which is embraced in the political, social, and economic planks of the Bolshevist platform I have just outlined. Since that time many Americans have returned from Russia and told of the utter economic ruin that has overtaken the country, the orgy of bloodshed and terror that the leaders of the revolution have instituted, and the indescribable sufferings that have been inflicted upon all members of the propertied class in Russia.

Ambassador David R. Francis, who was at Petro-

grad when the Bolsheviki dispersed the Russian Constituent Assembly, and who had ample opportunity of seeing the soviets at work, while testifying before the United States Senate about the Bolsheviki said: "They are against all government. Their decrees call for the disruption of family life. Their policies are such as will lead us back into barbarism."

Colonel E. E. Teusler, American Red Cross Commissioner to Siberia, after making a trip to the Siberian front last winter and witnessing the effect of Bolshevist rule in Siberian villages near the Ural Mountains, declared: "Not one good word can be said for Bolshevism."

Roger C. Tredwell, American Consul at Tashkend, who returned from southern Russia via Moscow and Petrograd in May, stated recently before the Russian Economic League in New York city, that in Bolshevist Russia the factories are closed, the railways are in a hopeless condition, the people are idle, hungry, ill-clothed and given over to all kinds of lawlessness with little or no restraint over them.

The guard under which he traveled through Russia in company with two British Red Cross nurses instructed the two nurses not under any circumstances to attempt to take walks outside their railway carriage, as at the stations it would be impossible to protect them. Consul Tredwell also told how a Bolshevist minister of commerce and industry in a conversation with him one day pointed to the smokeless factory chimneys and said: "These smokeless chimneys spell the doom of our social revolution. The people cannot be induced to work."

Immediately prior to my return to the United States in June, I visited, in company with two American newspaper correspondents, several towns and

villages in that portion of eastern Russia which had been recently taken from the Bolsheviki by the anti-Bolshevist forces of Admiral Kolchak. The story of the conditions we found in these cities has already been widely published in the newspapers. I only wish to confirm here in a signed article what has been already published. Bielebei is a town of about ten thousand inhabitants, and is a county seat of Bielebei County, Ufa Government, eastern Russia. It had been Bolshevist territory twice, Bolshevism first reaching the town in the spring of 1918. It was cleared of Bolsheviki by the Czecho-Slovaks during the summer of that year and fell again into Bolshevist hands in December, when the Czechs withdrew from the Siberian front after the signing of the European armistice. According to the accounts given by three judges of the Bielebei county court, who were all Socialists, and who had felt safe to remain in the city, as well as a number of other trustworthy eyewitnesses, the Bolshevist army which entered Bielebei last December was nothing more than an armed rabble of some fifteen hundred men, criminals, adventurers, and the riffraff of the lowest Russian classes. They looted the town as they entered it. All the criminals in the county jail were immediately released, while the members of the local county government, who were believed to be opposed to Bolshevism, were taken out and shot without any form of trial. About fifteen hundred of the more intelligent people of Bielebei fled at the approach of the Bolsheviki, but many of them were caught and killed. The evening following their arrival in the city the Bolsheviki held a monster meeting in the town hall, at which local criminals released from prison attended. The more voluble

leaders addressed their comrades after the manner of I. W. W. agitators, and those who made the most pleasing speeches were elected viva voce to the various commissariats which were to be organized. The county court and county government were declared abolished, and the following committees were formed: The Executive Committee, made up of the most daring and unscrupulous, to which all other committees were subordinate; the Revolutionary Tribunal, with its so-called court for the punishment of political crimes, i. e., counter revolution, speculation, and sabotage; the Extraordinary Investigating Committee, possessing the power of executing without trial any person believed to be guilty of counter-revolutionary sympathies; and the Council of Domestic Economy, charged with the task of listing and requisitioning all private property in the district, for the purpose of dividing up the same among the proletariat. The last-named commissariat was the least efficient of all, as its commissar and his assistants were too lazy and too dishonest to do more than fill their own pockets and issue orders for this and that piece of property desired by their friends. The Revolutionary Tribunal and the Extraordinary Investigating Committee vied with each other in executing people charged with the crime of counter-revolution, i. e., anti-Bolshevism. The president of the Executive Committee shared in this orgy of bloodshed. He had the president of the county government, who was ill in the hospital, brought before him in an invalid chair and shot him dead with his own hand in the public square. He likewise shot personally a number of other people against whom he bore some grudge. One day sixteen hostages were brought to Bielebei from Ufa, a city near

by, and placed in the jail. Soon thereafter, the jail being overcrowded, these sixteen unfortunate people were taken out and shot in the public square, and their bodies thrown into the little river which runs through the town. The bodies were later recovered by the townspeople and given proper burial. Among the victims was a seventeen-year-old high school girl of Ufa, whose parents came to Bielebei, identified her body, and carried it away with them.

The girls of the Bielebei high school were made to wash the barracks and filthy wearing apparel of the Bolshevist soldiers, receiving for their labor only blows and curses, or, if the girl happened to be pretty, insults of worse nature. The boys of the high school were made to work on the streets without pay. Those among them who dared to protest or were suspected of planning to escape and join Admiral Kolchak's army were taken out and shot without any ado.

So terrible and strange were the stories told us that our minds were incapable of visualizing the scenes that must have been enacted during the Bolsheviki occupation of this Russian town. My companions were frankly skeptical. Before the day closed all our skepticism had vanished.

We were returning to our train to partake of a late luncheon when our attention was attracted by a crowd of excited townspeople making their way to a nearby wood. Upon inquiry we learned that a large number of victims of the Bolsheviki had just been discovered, supposed to have been murdered during the very night that they evacuated the town, and these anxious people were intent on learning the fate of missing friends and relatives. Taking our cameras with us we followed the wake of the crowd.

In a few minutes we were standing with a grief-stricken group of people on the edge of a slight excavation and with them gazing down on a score of murdered men and women whose mutilated bodies had suddenly been revealed by the melting snow. The topmost figure on this heap of mangled dead was the corpse of a young girl just blooming into womanhood. Her left breast—exposed—was terribly torn by gunshot; her left arm, with its graceful curves, was bare and lay across her bosom, and we noted that the third finger had been amputated at the second joint, no doubt for the ring that had encircled it.

Wishing to spare the feelings of the older and more deeply affected persons present, I addressed myself to an intelligent-looking boy about fifteen years of age, and inquired what caused the murder of these people. His reply was laconic, but illuminating, "Bolsheviki dieol," which translated literally means "Bolsheviki work."

CHAPTER VIII

MY NEIGHBOR'S ADVANTAGES

If you listen with the ears which the demagogues and the ignorant agitators want you to use, and if you do your thinking with the ears which he is anxious to fill, you will get the impression that our working people are being ground down under the merciless heel of the tyrant capitalist. Few students of economics look at the other side of the question and appreciate losses that capital has suffered and the insurmountable difficulties it has had to face in the last generation because of the unreasonable demands which labor has increasingly made beyond the income of the world's business to pay out of the profits of the business. Labor has forced a reduction of the hours of the workingman, and to a certain measure it was doubtless best for labor and for business. But the laborer wanted at once more for his short hours than he received for the long ones. Somebody had to pay for those two lost hours. Should business pay the whole bill? That would depend upon whether business was yielding as much in eight hours as it did in ten hours, and that would depend upon whether the men did as much in the eight hours. It was said that they would. The evidences are, in many cases, that they

did not. As we have shown in a preceding chapter, at once there was an increase in the cost of articles which receive only eight hours work, and the articles were bought in the workingman's home, and paid for by him. Then began the race between increase of cost for manufactured articles and wages of eight-hour workers, and the workers, up to date, seem to have somewhat the better of the contest. In a period of a dozen years the wages of the workingman increased about twice as fast as the per cent increase of the cost of articles of home living. In some callings there has not been a year through a period of fifteen years that the workingman's wages have not been increased. It seems to have become an infatuation with him, and he thinks that any year which has not seen a threat or a strike and an increase of wages is a poor year. The question will force itself upon the public mind that somewhere there must be a limit. Soon it ought to be the business man's turn to have one year of uninterrupted work for his factory. He should have at least time enough in some year to adjust himself to those swiftly changing cost conditions. It is about time for the public mind to stop the foolish sympathy with the workingman who for fifteen years has shown that he is fully able to take care of himself, and ask him if he will not help us to buy our shoes for less than twenty dollars a pair. The prices have shifted from the manufacturer's hands to the skilled laborer's hands. The dictator of American busi-

ness is your neighbor and mine who every year says, "Pay me more for less work."

One of the greatest economic blessings to the so-called common people is the corporation, a body of men organized and authorized by law to do business and to act as one man. It has sometimes been abused, but as now safeguarded it is the securest form of savings with returns in dividends and the safest transfer of property from one generation to another that has ever been devised. It has contributed enormously to the workingman by projecting vast enterprises like railways, the barge canal, and the construction of immense water reservoirs and manufacturing communities. Those who oppose them are ignorant or attempt to use their assaults to make capital with the ignorant and easily prejudiced.

The corporation serves the workingman more than any other class of men. It has done more to improve his home and to create for him independence than any other form of human endeavor of a strictly economic character. That it has been made or used to rob the poor, to wreck railways, and establish monopolies is absurd in the extreme. There is nothing great and good that has not been counterfeited and abused. But the progress of the country dates its greatest developments from the time men found a way of handling the greatest enterprises by an association of individuals and investments as one man. It offers great advantages

to the workingman by putting into his hand the possibility of investment in the largest enterprises of the country.

We hear much of what the coal employers, the railway magnates, and what "pirates" of big business are doing with the people's money. It is a singular fact that tens of thousands of the owners of the stock of great railways like the New York Central and the Pennsylvania are men of small means and women with modest savings and clerks in the stores and banks. They own millions of dollars of these properties, and they are safer, notwithstanding the agitators of strikes and government ownership, than any other forms of investment they can make. Especially is this true of the bonds of such corporations.

That laborer is deceived to his hurt who allows himself to antagonize the great things of America. They are conceived by great thoughts. They are vindicated by the immense things they have done for the land. Their by-products dwarf the world's old time enterprises when all that the rich could do was to pile their gold up in vaults and iron-bound chests. The later life of the world received its great impulse when capitalists combined to do things and took the workingmen into partnership. The workingman is not a serf any more. He is not a servant. He is not a menial. He is a partner in the world's greatest affairs. And if he has power of thought, of inventive genius, if he is a discoverer, the world's open

gates are now swinging out before him. It all depends upon himself. He can destroy business and destroy himself with it. He has the large advantage as never before that invested business has made for him. It was coming to him out of the logic of events. He can hurry it and overhurry it. The steel business is a case in hand. For fifteen years every year but one has seen an increase of wages. This has come principally to prevent strikes, and the strike furor has doubtless been due in no small degree to the immense fortunes being made by investors in the business. But the effect upon business and labor in general is harmful. One highly favored manufacturer cannot act alone upon local demands. The great industrial bodies are members one of another, and the great practical question which perhaps we cannot expect the average man to put to the front is, "What of the general good?" And that question is made up of particulars. The highest advantage to the workingman is not always when the greatest wage is paid. That is an easy political economy. But a man's advantages and personal interests involve far more. That is a small measure of the man.

Were the principles of our fathers right? Were they fundamental and eternal, or was it all a mistake? Is Bolshevism, or socialism, which is now budding under the name of Unionism, better than the Magna Charta or than the American Constitution? Is the tribal life better than the national

life? Is wild communism better than individual responsibility and privilege? Would the world be better off to divide up its mass of property upon a universal plan because the distribution is now unequal and unfair? How long would it stay so? Does it not all go back upon creation? The plan that is going to stand whether we like it or not is one of inequality. The nearest we come to equality, and that is far from complete, is equality of privilege. Men are born with unequal talents, one and two and five. They inherit far differing capacities. Some have great acquisitive powers and some have none; some can and do add to their properties and some cannot keep what they inherit. Our quarrel is not with the economy of men, but with the economy of God. We must make a careful analysis of ourselves and see in just what our advantages lie and in what our investments should be made, whether in ourselves or in others for ourselves. It may be that they are in a certain promising mentality and we only require investment in intellectual capacity. It may be that the man is the contractor and builder of fortunes in property. His talent is five of acquisition. He must not bargain himself to any organization and lose his identity. There are men who overestimate themselves and fail that way. There are others, and more of them, who underestimate themselves and their splendid personality to become absorbed and their splendid genius to be spoiled. One of the evils of the present form of

union which is threatened with the fatal disease of Bolshevism, is that no account is taken of a man's unusual capacity. It is the reverse of Burns, "A man is a man for a' that." A man is a machine and only that. When self-reliance goes out there is not much left of a man. An arrangement by which a man loses his identity and is merged into a place on terms that take no account of what he is has only one end, and that is the extinction of that man as a man. The beauty of our government is that it associates man in a mighty union and alliance and leaves him a definite unit with a fixed value. He has a vote which shifts from one party to another and from one to another issue from time to time. He does not act like a gear in a machine driven by some central power. He is the central power. A man with one issue only, and that the profound question of how much wage he can get, is passing by some of the greatest questions of life and destiny. The great advantage within the grasp of the man who depends upon nothing but his hands is the large citizenship provided for him in a country that is the sum of all the best in all countries and the original conception of the mighty men who insisted upon their inherent rights to offer the world a new pattern also. It will be a sad day, not for the country only but for my neighbor the workingman when certain destructive elements that are beginning to see that they have no hope of success under the name which they have recently imported here, get an insidious and treacher-

ous hold upon the workingman's union, which is showing some alarming symptoms of sympathy and degeneracy. It is said that sailors take warning and leave a ship when rats leave it. It is a better time to leave a ship when rats come into it and take charge of it. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked." The principles that have underlain the welfare of men and accounted for their marvelous development for hundreds of years have not been an accident. They must not give place to the accident of a new form of socialism, that has sadly experimented for a few months on a soil that never knew of republican institutions, but is overrun with tares that have not permitted the wheat of liberty to grow and flourish. Our nation's workingmen have been too long and too richly blessed by our freedom to throw these blessings away for the new mess of pottage brought over by the Bolsheviki and disguising itself with our old rejected socialism and the labor union in the dangerous form which it is now taking.

If I were to specify the great advantages of my neighbor which he must not forget in the glamour of any new and untried issue, I would call his attention to what America votes him and not to an organization. It puts a ballot into his hand, and as much of a ballot as is in the hand of the multimillionaire. His richest neighbor has no more. I am speaking of law-abiding men. The comparison is not between an honest and a dishonest man. The honest poor man has as much of a vote as the honest rich man.

He votes and not an organization for him. He votes and not a job for him, and here is where his manhood takes root. And he votes not for a schoolhouse only, but for the man who will stand in his place in Congress and who will account to him when the time comes about for a representative to be chosen again. And who shall say that the voter shall not represent himself?

This suggests a potent reason why he may. What country ever offered its citizens such school privileges from elementary forms up through all grades and all technical training to or beyond the colleges and universities? The everyday laborer is proud of his boys and girls in the public school, coming home with increasing zest for books and knowledge. The state has created hundreds of these schools for elementary instruction and also academies and normal schools. In nearly every State there is one college, and in some of the States private benevolence has planted from one to a half dozen with doors open upon most generous terms to all young people without regard to race or sect. Here is where the fortunes of the rich seek ways of helping the poor. Hundreds of colleges in our country have been founded by men and women who believe that in a republic the safety of the nation is that the people who are to do the thinking and voting shall be educated.

In a monarchy princes and princesses are educated. In America the people are the princes and

princesses. The moderate tuition fees of our American colleges and universities do not pay one half, if they do one third, of the expenses of the students. The buildings stand as a free gift to them. The same is true of college libraries, museums, laboratories, and tens of thousands of dollars of other equipment—the whole indispensable to the work of higher education in any considerable college or a university. Besides millions of money are given by rich and modest benefactors in endowments. The poorest paid men in God's vineyard have put millions of money collectively into the colleges to make it possible for their neighbor the workingman to secure a liberal education for his sons and daughters.

Sometimes it is said that the motive which prompts these wealthy men to found colleges is their desire to use them for their selfish, economic purposes. More than twenty-five years in one of these institutions, whose benefactors represented the steel, the typewriter, and Standard Oil interests, besides great estates of the retired rich, constitute an irrefutable authority on that matter. Never in any case, in any instance of any kind, did I ever receive such a suggestion in connection with any gift whatever. The utmost freedom of instruction was never questioned. Such a charge is as groundless as nineteen twentieths of the slanders against the rich business men of our country. They average with human nature among the poor, to say the least. They were

poor once. The colleges are peculiarly gifts to the poor, and it is to the credit of the poor that their sons and daughters are in them in good majority. The hope of our country is that the workingman and woman send their children to the schools and colleges.

One of the striking examples of the workingman's advantages is in the public libraries, many of them so richly endowed by Mr. Carnegie, himself from the home of poverty, who, when a vigorous lad, worked for one dollar a week. These libraries founded by the community or some benefactor are in nearly all the villages and in all the cities. A village would almost as soon be without water or light or sanitation or schools or churches as without the free library. Educated men and women are the committees of these libraries, insuring careful selections of books, safe, entertaining, and instructive. Every week a book may be in the humblest home, a book that will tell the story of some epoch in the world's history. One may have a plain treatise on some phase of science. He may read the best of literature. He may bring home the story of bees or beavers, of wild birds or wild flowers. I know a woman who took her maid and roamed about a few hours in the Adirondacks and brought home over forty varieties of blooming plants. That autumn I met a naturalist who told me that he had just compiled a list of more than eighty wild birds which summered in the Adirondacks. The boy or girl may take home from

the library rare autobiographies that will tell the story of Lincoln from the cabin to the highest position in the world. He may bring away the mechanic arts and develop that valuable gift.

I found a college janitor who was reading The Scientific American, Power, Electrical Engineering, etc., which he got Saturdays in the college library. He pursued his reading nights and spare and free hours until he became a master plumber and did the work of the colleges. He kept on and constructed the large power house of the institution, which has been pronounced by well-known engineers a model plant, and became superintendent of buildings and grounds, directing in construction of steam, electric, and heating apparatus, selecting and setting boilers and engines. He is recognized as authority in all those things, saving the university tens of thousands of dollars. He passed on from a pay roll of fifty dollars a month to a salary of three thousand dollars a year, and would command more than twice that salary in the commercial world, but for his loyalty to the institution where he found himself by odd hours with books from the college library. Not every boy has the native ability to make so much of himself out of a few books and spare hours, but hundreds could were they awakened to their possibilities.

Has the workingman stopped to think of the possibilities of his public library? Suppose he were to read ten pages of history a day, or of science, or of

biography. That is three thousand six hundred and fifty pages in a year. That is twelve volumes of over three hundred pages in a year. In ten years he would be the best-read and best-informed man in the town except the professional men who make their living by books. It would constitute him a leader among his fellows. He would take control of the thought in his lodge or his union. Ten of him would make a new union. If those books had included sound political science and industrial economics, he would be a leader in realms where sound thought is at a premium. But the estimate which I have made is a moderate one. He could and would read twice as many pages per day. Would it not interfere with his day labor? It might. He would be demanded perhaps to create labor or to take charge of great enterprises. If it made him restless, it would not be the restlessness of jealousy and envy and discontent with conditions. It would be the restlessness of a great and worthy ambition. It would be "growing pains." The restlessness of intelligence never has harmed the world. It shames the foolish and ignorant agitator. Use the free library. It is the gift of a fortune which you can bring into your home every week and take nothing away from the world. Your children will invest in it also, and the more they have the more they will want, and the more they have the greater they will grow, and it is your home that grows.

Possibly my neighbor the workingman has not reckoned the churches among his advantages. Perhaps he has heard harangues against them and sneers against the preacher, the priest, and the rabbi. He leaves it to his friends to use them to say a decent word when he dies and to bury him. But nearly always the workingman has a church. It may not be the best one. But it may be the best one for him. In any event, if he uses it faithfully and gets out of it the best it has for him, he will be far better off than without any. It stands for the best morals. It is a protest against that fool described in the Bible as saying, "There is no God." Man's relation to man is based upon morals, morals with a Golden Rule in them, morals with justice and truth and charity in them, morals that will not steal nor lie nor covet another man's property, morals that are packed away in Ten Commandments or "ten words" as they are called, a collection from which you cannot take one word without endangering the world nor to which the world has ever been wise enough to add another one. This marvelously perfect plan of morals, wealth, and privilege no one has monopoly of. It is free to the poorest man as to the richest. The fellowship of the church, its sympathy, its prayers, its charity, its visiting nurses, its medicine, its ministering priests and preachers, its counsels in all kinds of difficulties and perplexities—was there ever a community without them, or in which men and women would consent to live without them,

or, if without them, that men did not build them, even if it was of logs or adobe earth and clay? Men cannot get along without the morals taught in the churches. Whatever they are or are not, good morals they insist upon. Lamps may be ornamental, but they must have a receptacle for oil or be wired for electricity. No church of any Christian or Jewish faith would hold a place with civilized people without putting first in the teaching of its doctrines sound morals. They are an asset of the community and an asset of the workingman. They protect his home and give him a square deal among his fellow men. His appeal for fair treatment is based upon the morals taught by his church. It is only when his passions go wild and he forgets, that he neglects his church and becomes dangerous to himself and to his community.

He is a dangerous sectary who would sever men from their churches, from a system even with which he may not agree. What are the morals taught? Are men better without them or with them? My neighbor should put his church, whatever it is, before his lodge or his union, or any industrial or social fellowship whatever. The anchor does not propel the ship, but it's a mighty handy thing to have at the bow, and there are times when it is worth more than the engine. Precepts are great with faith.

Not the least of my neighbor's advantages is the time in which he lives. If he is only wise enough

to know it, many of the questions that make their practical appeal to him and that have to do with his daily life in all of its relations have been settled. They have not come down through the ages passing by all of the tests of time to be left to ranting agitators to determine their values and their application to human affairs. It is aside from the work to say that the most of the inventions and discoveries have been left by centuries which have drifted by until they reached these modern times. Whatever may have been the inspiring cause, it is, nevertheless, true that the world, for thousands of years, along its highest ranges of thought, was giving itself to moral problems. Its mind was upon origin and destiny, upon God and law and human obligations. Its most marvelous system of hygiene which the world has ever seen was religious and ceremonial. Tested by the present experiences of men, the conclusions of the mighty men of past ages stand firmly intrenched in the lives of the most intelligent and progressive peoples of the earth. It is not necessary to quibble over these ancient revelations and philosophies textually or doctrinally. Prove them in yourselves. What are they to you, and what are you without them with the so-called new thought? Their origin is like that of vitalism and gravitation. Don't wait until you invent perpetual motion before you settle down upon the old law that this universe pulls to its centers and its centers are drawn to greater centers involved in the mystery of that common center about

which great minds do not prattle much. The lesson of an infinitely great past has one safe lesson, and that is that men count for little until they fasten upon greatness. That is why the Bible says that man is a fool without God. The conception is elevating, even if he falls infinitely short in his interpretations. I do not ask you to go back to ancient writings, Holy Scriptures, or prescient philosophy, though that were an invaluable privilege; but if you cannot, look about yourself. The test is the fruits. Grapes do not grow from thorns, nor figs from thistles. You are your own commentary. This is equally true of divine revelation and of civil and political government. The greatest Teacher the world has had said, "Prove me." Of this mighty republic we may confidently say, "Prove it."

It is true that new times bring new adaptations. But the fundamental things are the principles. These have been secured and cannot be safely torn away. That later politician, whatever his high position, must have assuring temerity who proceeds upon the theory that the things he proposes are new discoveries. Great men lived and threw into the culm piles and slag heaps his philosophies. Our neighbors should compare their conditions, which are the fruit of a free country, with those of a century ago, as they may quickly, from the plain short histories of the public library, to which reference has been made. Advances secured by the application of creative principles that have been the

productive roots so long that by their fruit you may know them.

It is incredible that intelligent workingmen charged with their country's franchises, many of them in the churches and benevolent lodges which sift men and know them, will hand over their part in the world's things to nothing but the facile tongues of sudden and volatile reformers who find it easier to employ their tongues than their brain and muscle. The principles of the ages gone have not worn out.

There was a time when certain men accounted for the motion of the stars with windlasses and chains. And the old fable of Atlas bending his back under the earth is familiar. You are asked to go back to that mythology if you forget the origin of your country and listen to croaking of the frogs in the mud holes by the side of the roads, or try to see through the fetid vapors distilled over the quagmires of alien socialism compounded with the black ignorance of our little egomaniacs of the street gutters. If my neighbor the workingman has anything to thank God for, it is that he has a past to look back upon, a past full of great men, great enough for the ages in which they lived and with prophetic vision to look along the ages and anticipate the multitudes who would be anxiously inquiring for light. They were not men who lived for themselves, nor did they die to themselves. What a striking example was the Father of the American

republic! How he seems to live in these years, and to speak as one participating in our affairs. How prescient his warning to hurried, preoccupied men who must carry as intelligent citizens their business and affairs of state lest they become entangled in the politics of foreign countries. There was nothing narrow or unsympathetic in Washington. We were given in charge by Divine Providence of a vast land and country, with the world's greatest experiment of a free people. Our principles would not mix. Enough of the alien element would come to our shores which would have to be amalgamated and made American. We must let other nations work their problems. We cannot work both by surrendering ours.

There is another advantage to the workingman of this time which all of them do not yet appreciate. It is not confined to my neighbor the workingman. It is a universal blessing, but more marked in the case of the laborer whose income is from day to day and whose expenditures leave a narrow margin. It is so hackneyed, and its story so trite and worn that the mention of it sends some minds into their shells like mud turtles. It has been a moth in the workingman's wage. It has cost his wife a dress and his children shoes and frocks and coats; and, worst of all, it has cost the husband and father his self-respect and turned his noble instincts into bestial passions, dangerous to himself and his home. Some of his friends in their opposition to this foe have not

always been wise. Those who proposed that by law they would search his home did not have their zeal according to knowledge. The law had to deal with the saloon. It was an institution. It made merchandise of the poor man's home. It waylaid him on his way home with his week's earnings and took them away from his wife and children after creating an appetitie that robbed him of his manly power of resistance. That enemy of the town and all in it had to be closed. Generations made other experiments to save the men who frequented such places, but no law must be permitted to touch any man's home in search of his personal habits. Paternalism that goes that far is itself an enemy of manhood. It were better that a man be tempted to get drunk at times, and that he have the means of doing it, than that he be made a manikin to be pulled by strings in the hands of personal meddlers. Something must be left to the man. It is a great boon that the saloon has gone. It is a legacy to the workingman peculiarly that has been secured to him by the everlasting removal of the saloon. It is an inheritance to his children, and no one is happier than his wife if she is worthy of being the mother of her children. It has been a hard fight, and many thousands of the workingmen have helped to win it. It could not have been won without them. It must not be assumed that the workingmen as a class supported the saloon and contended for it. Many of them did, but more of them did not, and they were

the great reenforcement of the forces which won for temperance and sobriety. It was a fight against millions of invested money. It was a fight against politics. It was a fight against rents and employees. It was a fight against mistaken ecclesiastics and champions of liberty of individual choice, even though the law in many other instances is constantly denying such a choice. It was a fight against appetite, not restrained but unrestrained, and often demoniacal; an appetite that heard no argument from scalding tears of wife nor shame of children.

One cannot pass these peculiar advantages that have come to the workingmen and their families without noticing what seems to be a strange Providence in point of time and substitution of a want which made the removal of the saloon a more difficult task. Men demand social intercourse, a place where they can meet with men of their way of thinking and especially where entertainment is to be found. What was to be done with them when the saloon was closed? Many plans had been proposed, none of them altogether practical. They would not be religious. They could not be irreligious. The moving picture was invented. It came along in time to fit the demand for harmless entertainment, and more, an instructive entertainment. The man had a place to spend his evening with small cost if he took his wife and children. It brought to him the lands heretofore in the stories of travelers. It took him to the Far East. It showed

him the unknown races of men and their manner of life, objects of natural history in their habits, the flora of the tropics, the boundless ice wastes of the frigid zones, the industries of coal and iron mines, the products of the prairies, manufactories, and the exploits of men in all fields of heroic ventures from fishing and hunting of great game to war. The moving picture displaced the saloon and vulgar, cheap theaters with a new world of knowledge in a setting of wholesome amusement. That sometimes it fell into the hands of vultures is not strange, but the public taste would not tolerate it and suffer it to spoil the instruction and recreation of the homes of the people.

These are some of the advantages which can be enumerated as peculiarly waiting for the elevation and improvement of a great class of our most worthy citizens who are represented by demagogues and socialist pirates as oppressed, down-trodden and abused by the capitalists and predatory rich. No class in our great prosperous land is more fortunately situated than these same people when they use the gifts of Providence and the freedom of their country intelligently, soberly, and industrially. If they despise those things because they have not the rich man's riches; if they listen to the insane rantings that they should not labor because some men have ten talents when other men have one only; if they pass by the great things of their country which are blessing others so freely, and spend their time in

foolishly attempting to mend the world, their lives are to be miserable and the world will not be mended by them, but it would be so much better off without them, as they have influence to do it harm. No man on our earth has such an opportunity just of himself as the laborer, upon whom so light a tax of stewardship is put by the demands of his calling, so little anxiety, so little of plans and the accident of markets. He can increase himself and enlarge his sphere of powers and happiness on the capital furnished by others.

CHAPTER IX

MY NEIGHBOR'S COUNTRY

NEXT to a man's religion is his country, and his country is an essential part of his religion. A religion is not worth much that is an emotional mysticism with no substantial attachments and duties to this earth. "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." That is one way to render unto God the things that are God's. If one has an underdeveloped country, poor in its resources, one has a duty to it while he is a part of it. As far as possible he is to improve it by all of the intelligent energy he can put into it. It is his country. It may be his duty to stay by it and to muster to it all the persons and influences that may serve it and to defend it against its foes with his life. It is because of this innate loyalty that there is so much sympathy in our country with Ireland. Its beautiful land, the devout attachment of its people, its great men who stand upon such proud summits of history in the world's great achievements, its persistent appeals for liberty and autonomy deeply move us who so recently were struggling against the same country for freedom. But we are not unmindful nor indifferent to the vexed problem of Great Britain if a land so near were to become independent and form an alliance

with another nation that might be unfriendly to the mother country. And we have to remember that certain irreconcilable elements in business and industries, as well as religion, divide the beautiful green island within itself. Much awaits the movements of political science and social philosophy before a consummation devoutly desired by not a few Englishmen and Americans shall be brought to pass. Some of us have thought that a more desirable home government for the British Isles would be the plan of the United States or of Canada, in which there are states or provinces of independent government under a central Congress or Parliament and supreme executive head and court. Ireland divided into two states would remove the internal industrial and religious conflict: Wales a state, Scotland a state, North England, Middle England, Southern England and Western England states, all with their governors, local Legislatures, courts and representatives in the two houses of Parliament, with, for the time being, the constitutional king for its supreme head. Until some such plan is found the world will continue to find itself in sympathy with Ireland, unless it is to be in conflict with its own loyalty to freedom. The world is to progress upon the plans of a free republic like the United States, or a democratic monarchy largely in name only, and it will not take kindly to the subjection of any considerable people craving for autonomy.

I have strayed a little aside, but it may illustrate

the problem of love of country which is not always a simple one. It sometimes involves contention and rebellion from what are considered oppression and tyranny, but always by representative parties in controversy, and never by murderous Bolshevism nor bomb-throwing assassination of innocent and unoffending women and children, nor the destruction of shops and factories in which are peaceably laboring men and girls, whose only offense is that they are employed by some capitalists who have excited the envy of the most cowardly and fiendish murderers who ever disgraced even the name of murder.

Duty to country is always constructive if it is loyal and wise. It begins by offering something better. It displaces the less good with a greater good and it gives the whole people the privilege of saying which they will have. The first duty of a citizen is loyalty. The first thing to be done is to defend what we have, and never to part with it until we are shown that which is better. The better representation of our liberties is not an assassin with a suit case and a time bomb. The duty to such indescribably loathsome creatures is to imprison or deport them. If ever the severest measures are justified, it is with such fiends. Love of country will insist that no perilous sentimentalism shall delay the processes of the courts in such cases. Love of country justifies destruction of the assassins of our citizens at their employment or of their families sleeping innocently in their homes when no discrimination is made be-

tween the assaulted judge or capitalist and the baby upon its mother's breast. It is a serious question as to whether we have much to boast of while common moral sentiment leaves it possible for such barbarous practices to pass with such easy possibility of escape from detection, and if detected, from correction. The appeal of vigilance is to every man of every station in the community. It should begin with so great love and loyalty for our country that the street corner orator who begins any assault upon our institutions whatever shall end his oration in the ditch, or the nearest jail, if there is an officer to arrest him; if not, then the ditch.

Americans must be Americans, and they should not allow anyone in this country to be anything but Americans. No man has a right to live in this country anything but an American. Ambassadorial residents are under sacred obligation to be loyal to our laws and usages. The most despicable creatures of our experience have been the representatives of the German Embassy, of whom Bernstorff shone as the principal star in that low and murky firmament. Often we hear men say that they have lived here twenty or more years but have never been naturalized. There is some mistake somewhere, either with our laws or with these men. They should have been compelled to naturalize or account for themselves in positive terms every year. We have too much at stake from the red socialist to permit any such precedents. Honest men, changing their resi-

dence from their old lands to the new, should cast their lot into permanent citizenship and help bear its burdens. Public sentiment, the sentiment of associates in business and labor, should emphasize the obligation. No man has a right to take out of this country the benefits of citizenship and render no return for them.

Should our working people bring to bear the pressure of their sentiment upon all who come here who are fit or promise fitness, that they must become citizens, it would be a most efficient correction of some of our dangers. Those who are not fit should not be permitted to land here; and if by chance they do land, they should be hunted out and sent back. We stop the physically unfit. It is far more important to stop the mentally unfit, or the unsympathetic and inimical. There are processes by which this can easily be determined. A method is being introduced into the examination of candidates for admission to college by which their place may be determined for the most successful pursuit of studies. Mental aptitude may be graded. It is far more important to apply some such practice to men and women coming to this country to prey upon us and to grow up with the odor of Mephitis Americana, and the jaws of a combined wolf and a laughing hyena. Our location, our marvelous extent of territory and resources, invite the world to our shores. We have been able to receive them and share with all people our opportunities. For gener-

ations we were safe in this wide generosity. We benefited by it. Men and women who became its noblest citizens came to our shores. They speedily became citizens themselves. They reached the highest positions in our business life. Mr. Carnegie was one of them. There could be no better Americans. The disturbances of our land are not by native nor by adopted men and women schooled in Americanism, as a rule, but by people who come to us raw. They have established no claim to an opinion among us with regard to our institutions. They know nothing. They have nothing to offer. They want to destroy what they find. We are under no obligation to such persons, and those who join them are like them. Those who use them have some demagogic purpose to serve and should equally find no tolerance from us.

If we are Americans, we shall be Americans in something besides fair weather. It does not cost much to be Americans when the dollar is worth a hundred cents and the cost of living is normal and we all have well-paid employment. It ought not to be a difficult task to be Americans when the tide is running out and it is hard work to stem it. We are not very worthy sons of our sires if a little high cost of living and small pay throws us off our balance and sends us out rioting against the government and threatening all kinds of calamity to business and trade. It is a test; are we equal to it? It is not the blood of our fathers that plays us so falsely. Our

fathers gave their lives and suffered worse than death for their country. "They counted not their lives dear unto themselves." They were tempted by severest trials to forsake their country. But to-day in Congress men stand up and threaten the country with most dire consequences if our workingmen have to pay extra for a pair of shoes or of overalls. We are warned that we are upon the edge of a revolution. The country saved at Valley Forge is going to be thrown away, not because we are cold and ragged and without money, as they were at Valley Forge, but only because we have to pay more and get less, and because we have a temporary inconvenience with the cost of our living expenses. Frankly and emphatically, I do not believe it. They are not Americans. They are the riffraff that the demagogues are jockeying with. They never had living that they earned, and they know nothing of whether living costs much or little. Genuine Americans quietly adjust themselves to conditions. They are too wise and too loyal to strike for impossible wage, when there is nothing with which to pay it. They wait patiently until they can change the times. They do with less. They economize, and that is what they will do now if they are let alone. It is a good lesson. It is wholesome to the home. I used to hear them singing when I was a boy, "Hard times will come again no more." But they have come, and they will keep on coming, and we should keep on singing, while supply and demand changes the value

of a dollar. The cure-alls, the fools who expect to legislate the millennium, will keep on, but "they cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

We have too much faith in people of America to believe that there is going to be a revolution because we cannot get a living as cheaply as in former times, and at the same time lay up as much money. The preachers are not going to stop preaching because a dollar of their too scant salary is worth only sixty cents now and everything they buy costs twice as much. They do not purpose to rebel and lead a revolution because out of their income of a thousand dollars the general government takes away an income tax and the State comes along and taxes it also. The teachers will keep on teaching. The doctors will not forsake the poor. There will be hundreds of thousands who will keep plodding on until "hard times come again no more." It is not the true and loyal Americans who will break up traffic and burst in the doors of the stores and steal their goods. Americans are made of a different metal. You can arouse them by denying them their freedom until they will unload your tea into the harbors and go without tea, but you cannot starve them or freeze them into rebellion against the government which is doing the best it can under new and trying conditions. We civilians are suffering our part of the war now. The American workingman is not going to be deceived by the demagogue into believing that the rich are hoarding their money and making a

stringent money market. They have no money. They are borrowers. Their money is carrying the railroads which the un-American are threatening to tie up until a wheel cannot turn. They are carrying the subways and elevated rapid transits. They are making the capital for all of the great business out of which they are getting far less per cent of profit than they received in the normal times when prices were easily within reach of the everyday people. The intelligent American cannot be deceived by the foolishness that the returns of business and the tariff of railroads belong to him; that whatever they earn is his profit; and if they earn nothing, but accumulate a debt, that debt does not touch his wage, which continues the same, but the debt—the deficit—must be paid by the government in taxes of those who have not and never did have anything to say about railroads, or it may be lost by the capitalists who own the stock. Americans are not thieves, nor socialistic fools. They know what belongs to them, and they know what does not belong to them. They learned these lessons long generations before the outbreak of Russian Bolshevism started out with its doctrine of piracy upon property and the reversal of the marriage bonds. We have nothing to unlearn of these things until the Almighty reverses the moral law. That will happen when water runs up hill and heat makes ice on the ponds in summer, and gravitation loses its grip on the universe. The un-American performances being played in this country to-day

for the edification of the world are by players who have come here with mighty discordant notes. They are alien tunes. We listen to them with curiosity as something entertaining because novel. But it would be a mistake to believe such doctrines have taken root here except in that stony ground where the soil is too shallow to bear them or among the riotous thorns where they flourish for a little time, just long enough to cause passing alarm among some of our nervous and too easily excited people. Bearing upon the thought that much of the agitation among us is exotic is a very recent statement that an English agitator lately subordinate in the British Cabinet is coming over to this country to establish a labor political party. It is confidently believed that he will return a wiser if not a better man. He will find that except by those who are deluding him into his foolish errand, the workingmen of this country have taken wiser counsel and are keeping their labor questions out of politics. It is the surest death to the great labor interests to launch them into the political arena. It would be American to split them between two great political parties and in a short time there would be nothing of the great and valuable questions of labor but a cheap form of party politics alternating between success of a small kind and defeat of a great kind, for a short time when only some idly floating baubles in the quieting surface would tell where it all went down. There would not be enough of it to salvage! Our friend who plans to come

from England with enlightenment ought by this time to have learned something in his own country. In all the mighty canvass only recently passed in that great land, scarcely enough socialists are found in Parliament to count. The secret is in the fact that constitutionally Great Britan is a land of freedom like America, and the people move upon the same principles. Freedom does not make an issue around some one interest among so many vast economic concerns. The principles must touch all humanity. And while labor does concern us all, it does so in differing ways. Labor has been so badly mismanaged and made so many opponents by its methods that there could be no general concentration in its behalf among American voters. Politics will be a dead failure among the workingmen. There are too many who are not affiliated with the organizations, and too many in the organizations are already irrevocably classified politically. The organizations are astonishingly in the minority among the vast number of workingmen in this country. Such a man best remain at home. America is not a congenial soil for such an enterprise. It is true that our country is prolific in experiments, and in that is where so many people not acquainted with us make serious mistakes about us. Before one of these enterprises is fairly launched, we have another on the way, and are done with the first before it makes a voyage. That is why so many fortunes are made and lost here. It does not do to take us too seri-

ously, and it is not wise to diagnose our symptoms too impulsively. We move in great waves of enthusiasm of feeling and of protest. One day the country is going to the dogs, and it is exalted to the heavens the next day. It is a great land in which to be "as wise as serpents and as harmless as doves."

The time comes and you get the impression that the country is being split into pieces. One party is announced as victorious at the polls. In twenty-four hours it is all reversed. How can we escape a revolution? Twenty-four hours more and the shop machinery is humming, the farmer is behind his plow, the commercial traveler is out on the road taking orders. He is selling goods as though no controversy had warned the business world of danger to trade a few hours before. We are having a wild tumult in the cities to-day. Business is being interrupted and there will be some loss of life. An insane frenzy has seized a class of working people. All know that it cannot be prolonged, for those who are guilty of it in the immediate acts are dependent themselves upon that which they are denying to others, and soon will feel the sobering pinch of their own mischievous blunders, and it will sober them. There will be no revolution. There will be only a spasm. These spasms are unpleasant symptoms, but they are curable, and after a time the devils of it go entirely out into the swine which go tumbling down into the sea of oblivion. It is not necessary to commiserate the devils which have dis-

turbed this country for a time and then have only succeeded in the herding of worthless swine, a sort of razor-backs. They have not touched the great, solid, far-thinking people of labor or commerce or the professors in the schools. It is a matter of great importance to our country that our people should all learn as a lesson of great practical importance how to interpret mere passing spasms, and to discriminate between the spasms of the shallow agitators which are evanescent and the symptoms of serious conditions in the country to which sober and earnest thought must be addressed; the difference between a careless misuse of our constitutional privileges and such a passing economic condition as that now upon us, which will not be regulated by legislature but will run its course until it strikes the unfailing currents of demand and supply and the readjustments of labor, disturbed and disordered by the inroads of the war upon almost all of our callings.

It is not strange that in a conglomerate country it should take time and patience to learn all of the lessons of its freedom and privileges, and at the same time of its restraints and safeguards. How far can we go without harm? and how far can we restrain the harmful without reproducing the conditions of some of the effete countries from which many of our new citizens have come? We have to learn the lesson that often our protests against others result in more embarrassment and punishment to ourselves. We cannot stop others from riding on the

elevated, the subway, and the trolleys and ride ourselves. If we tie up the steam roads so that "a wheel will never turn again," we who tie them up must walk the ties or take to the prairie schooner ourselves. If we destroy the property, who will pay our wages? We do nothing to others that we do not do to ourselves. We depreciate our cottages and hurry the foreclosure of their mortgages. We increase the cost of our living expenses. It is a singular practical law in our domestic economy that if we increase our wages beyond what the business or corporation we serve with our labor will bear and pay a return, we force up the price of our food and our clothes. We visit the penalty upon ourselves, and we carry up not only our expenses but those of thousands who are in other callings about us and disturb the economy of the whole country. There is no end to the mischievous consequences of our selfish course. The railroad man who complained of the endless chain that carried increased wage and also increased cost of living stood dazed with his perplexing problem and hurried off to the government to solve it for him. He became so angry over it that he wanted to hurry up a firing squad and stop the wheels turning, and the government gets excited and starts in to put more buckets on the endless chain. It proposes to legislate costs up and down, and in the process it sees prices mount into the sky. It might as well legislate against the tides of the sea or the phases of the moon. It may catch a few

profiteers and shut them up, and it should, and compel them to disgorge their hoarded produce and goods, but that does not go to the cause. It is only an incident connected with the cause. The trouble lies deeper. The profiteer does not make it. He takes advantage of it and aggravates it within certain limits and narrow areas. It is a condition that springs out of unusual causes. It is a shortage of production by scarcity of labor and an overplus of money uninvested and unemployed in productive enterprises.

The labor union, an artificial and unnaturally and illogically attached institution in our country, working not for the common good but to create conditions altogether possible and profitable to its own members without regard to how its acts may bear upon business of construction and manufacture, has much to do with the disturbances of prices and the costs of the common necessities of the life of a community. It places an arbitrary demand upon business at a time when business cannot carry it. The union is not capable of discriminating. If it always discriminated justly and wisely, all fair-minded people would say that business should share with the laborers and mechanics represented by the union, that the best interests of the town and of business itself demanded the best wage that can be paid should be paid. But often the union strikes business when it is down. It may be a particular business whose returns have been misrepresented and

it is impossible to carry a higher scale of wage with the business as it is. The case is finally compromised and something not published is the result. The commodity is pushed up, and when this becomes general, from shoes to suits of clothes, from typewriters to automobiles, from wheat to sugar, you have the high cost of living. The labor goes beyond the production unless production takes on an extra force and that the people must pay for, and the workingman must pay back a part of his wages. What better off is he, and what better off is business? Nobody is better off but everybody is worse off.

But that is not all. The union in the depths of its foolish counsels decides that there are too many men with first-class incomes as plumbers and tinsmiths, as electricians and steam-fitters. It is best to limit the number. That can be done by making the services of the apprentices, the helpers, longer, and the result is that young men seek other callings and the trade is short-handed enough for every man to have a job, but not for all the jobs to have the men they want. The screws are turned down still harder, for if the job seeks competent men out of the union a strike is ordered in the business, even if it is a hospital, that is secretly declared unfair. But this is not the end. It is an unwritten law that members of the union shall not overwork even their short hours, and if they are demanded in emergency cases, they shall have pay and a half or double pay. All

of this has a direct bearing upon the high cost of living. The two hours taken out of a day, the men cut out of the profession or calling, all have to be paid for, and the laboring man has to pay his share in the high cost of living.

Our country has had to bear much and not the least from its own citizens. But some day they will learn the lesson. No class of men can organize themselves exclusively for themselves and prosper. No class can count the country out or give it a second place without doing themselves equal, if not greater, injury. Our roots are in the American soil. We must cultivate the soil. No man can live to himself, nor die to himself here, and no class of men can reach the estate of another class by displacing that class. They must be a class of their own. What men in our country have become conspicuously great by adopting other men's thinking and acting? Successful men explore their own fields and make their own discoveries. Those who hang on with them hang upon their coat tails. It is the glory of Americans that the men who count go out into the open. They are not hibernates. They go from all manner of homes, some of them the most humble and obscure, from the farms of New England to the plantations of the South, from the homes of laborers and artisans to the homes of the tradesman and manufacturer. Some stay and succeed by putting new discoveries into the old business. More carry their genius to the ever-opening fields of a vast country

that always has and always will welcome every man whose power is within himself.

There always will be room for every man. It is not necessary to fence around any man to keep him out of your lot. Such methods are unworthy of a country like this. Its plan is more generous, its highways are more open. It is a land of opportunities. (Labor unions as now managed, but not as they might be, are a wrong interpretation of America.) And if men cannot be permitted to widen them out to the horizons of the country's outer opportunities by increased proficiency, self-respecting men with any appreciation of what their country is ought to get out of them and leave them to the narrow visions and selfish purposes that have cursed them and blighted their grand possibilities. We want nothing less than America for Americans. We have no room in this country, except in their own hibernating dens, for men without large sympathies, without a hand for every man who is a true American and who is making earnest effort to carry his part of the apportioned burdens of his land. It is a crime which we cannot afford to permit, that any man in this country should be forced by any body of men out of his own choice with his own labor. It is an invaluable right fought out here in the beginning, and it came as a legacy handed down with his father's flintlock musket. The son made a rifle to replace the flintlock because he had an opportunity. It is un-American to tell a man, any man, what the

limits of his opportunity are to be, within what associations and in what companionship. His very thinking and aspirations, which may differ by far distances, his sense of justice, his conception of citizenship, all may travel on a different gauge. But if he is to earn his living and support his young family, he must abandon all of these and take with his privilege the narrow, selfish, disloyal concepts of life. There are thousands of men who will not sell out at the price. It makes an American's blood run hot to see the quality of men who assume the responsibility and privilege of determining what he character of industry is to be in a community, and who decide the life question of man's employment, where he shall work or whether he shall work at all. In heaven's name, where did they get the right to dictate to men these questions? It did not come from the Constitution of the United States. What laws conveyed the privilege? Who are they? Whence have they come that they shall walk into your office and order men out of your factory upon a threat that if you disobey, they will stop every machine and shut the business down and make junk of the machines? And what kind of men are they who submit to it? Are they Americans? Do they care more for a dollar than they do for their country's freedom? What forces us to fight for freedom across the sea and not for like causes at home? How did these dictators come to the business office, with authority, with a mandate, with an order? Yes,

they, the destroyers of your business, came with an order. It was promulgated by a small body of men, who did not make your business, who have not a member of their organization that could create such a business. If he could, he would have done it, and would have claimed the right to manage it without dictation, as you, under the laws of your country, have a right to do. The order is sent out by a body of men upon their own initiative, who have nothing upon which to live but such a business as you have made possible by your investment and the workingmen whom you choose to employ. They are men who do not support their organization upon its merits by rules that make its members the most desirable men in the town for the shops to hire. Such a club or union would not need any walking delegates to place the members. If others did not compete with them, they would seek such unions for proficiency. The business man would need no persuasion to give first place to union men. It would be determined by a law of quality which would make its own way. The question of right could not be raised. How it can help being raised now is puzzling in the extreme. No day is there of the present practice that does not degrade us. It degrades the men who are dictated to by it. It degrades the manufacturers who yield their divine rights supinely and cowardly to men so degraded that they will insist upon such terms, that they will dare to threaten property and business and life.

The country's claim is a first claim upon every man who makes his home within it, not only for the unsurpassed institutions of freedom but because it is the land of his home. It provides the first opportunity for his children as it has for himself. No conditions which he does not make himself can subject him to an inferior station. He has a right, and it becomes his duty to teach it to his children that they have the right, that any man has in all the broad land. The poor may hope to be rich, for nearly all of the rich have been poor. We have no aristocracy of wealth here. It has been truthfully remarked that "it is only one generation from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." "We are too near to leather aprons to paint coats-of-arms upon our coach doors." The men who are cursing the rich are cursing their own kind who have succeeded. They are the only men who are trying to make a caste among us by making it impossible for their own kind to improve their condition.

The doors swing inward into the halls of highest legislature and men, great men, great at the top are needed there. And in no country does so large a proportion of men equipped intellectually come from the homes of the workingmen. They make up the bulk of the college boys. There is scarcely a rich man's college in America. If there is one so called, its doors are open to poor boys upon the same terms. Every profession from the ministry through

is manned almost entirely with the sons and daughters of homes of humble circumstances. (America has open doors for all people.) Opportunity is upon the archway of every avenue that leads the way in front of all aspirations from the lowest state to the highest renown. The processions are from every station and walk in our glorious country. Every man is free for everything, for every calling and ambition except the choice of where he shall perform his day's labor. He can join any church. He can attend any college or technical school. He can choose any business. But he cannot say where he shall work without a card from a company of aristocrats who have stolen out of our freedom, our inalienable liberties of what they claim is their right in the case. It is the one diseased spot in our economy, and the sooner the surgeon's knife goes to the last fiber and root of it, the easier will it be eradicated, and the safer will be our national economy. It is the only thing which adds to the embarrassments of business in manufacture, husbandry, and commerce, and imposes a greater burden relatively upon the poor man's home and reduces his children nearer to serfdom. (The only thing that stands in the way of the poor man is the poor man's poor judgment in the plain things that concern himself.) When he finds himself differing from the common economy, things exacted of him which infringe upon his freedom, and which classify him by himself under the pretense of benefit, he should

answer, "My country is good enough for me upon the plan of liberty for all men."

No man has so much at stake in his country as the workingman. It is from it that springs his hope of existence, to say nothing of the happiness of his family and the promise of future good. His investments are more literally in it than are those of the capitalist whom he is taught by fools to hate. The rich have a measure of independence. He is not limited to one country nor to one class of associates. The poor man's home and habits of livelihood, his employment is a fixed condition. Values must be brought to him. He must make it of interest for investments to be made in his community. Whatever his calling and trade or labor, it is linked up to every useful pursuit in the country, and when he goes out in the morning with his dinner pail he should go with the feeling—and a proud one too—that he is going out that day to serve his country. The men he saw a few months ago marching away to stirring music, with martial tread, excited the shouts of their neighbors because they were going to serve their country, and nothing should be detracted from that applause. Gloriously they served their country, and they are worthy of all praise.

But did they serve their country more than the thousands of workingmen, mechanics, and laborers who go out of their homes every morning to produce those things indispensable to a country's development and sustenance? But the soldier went to death

and severed limbs. So, too often, the workingman. It is said, and we believe truthfully, that twice more men lose a leg or an arm in the labor callings, man for man, than in warfare, besides thousands injured in other ways. It is a mistake for the workingman not to feel that his work is patriotic, and it is a mistake for him not to feel his responsibility of it on that side. Can it be that such universal strikes as we are having in nearly every trade can affect only the investor and contractor and men chiefly of money known as capitalists? It is a condition which lacerates every nerve of the whole land and must be paid for in the final analysis by the workingman whose fate rises and falls as the tide of his country's business is flowing in or out. This is a case where man makes the tides. Foolish is the man who does not see that what he does must be done earnestly for his country. The soldier sacrificed everything for the common cause. It was the earnest objective, and it was only indirectly his country. It was directly another man's country, also it was a common freedom. Strange if the man with a home, with a wife and little ones, should not feel a more intense patriotism. His country cannot be sacrificed to wages. There must be enough resources in my country to give every man a living, but my country is before my living. My country first, good or bad. If good, I will rejoice in it. If bad, I will give myself to improve it. I will not hinder it and obstruct it. I will help it.

CHAPTER X

MY NEIGHBOR'S PATRIOTISM

We have seen the workingman's country, the opportunities and peculiar advantages which it offers to the toilers, the artisans, and even to the poor. We see its men who begin with no investment but their wits and their hands passing into positions of emolument and honor, and leaving their families possessed of great estates, in many cases. What do they give their country in exchange for it all? A patriot puts his country before all others and all else. His sacrifices go to the extent of his life and his fortune, great or small. If he finds himself in any organization, be it church or charity or economics, which puts anything before his country, or any flag, red or black, above Old Glory, it is time for him to inquire earnestly as to the place his citizenship is occupying. Is it where it should be? Can he place anything before his loyalty to the institutions of human freedom? Can he allow any authority or compact to become a superior obligation? Can he subscribe to any constitution that will displace the constitution of his country, for any purpose whatever? Is he in any club or union which by any dictatorship can issue orders which supersede and assert an overruling control over the laws of his

land? A man who enlists in such a governing body and places himself in defiance of his country's laws will find himself in an ugly list where loyal men are not catalogued.

There are certain very apparent reasons which make labor unions, as they have come to be managed, camps of questionable loyalty. First, Do their leaders openly declare themselves against the control and interference of the government? Second, Do they order strikes at the business of the country without regard to the effect upon the common peace and the common interests of the community or the state? Third, Do they, as reported, ever harbor men of boasted principles opposed to the institutions of our land? Fourth, Are the bomb-thrower and incendiary traced to a union or federation of unions, as was shown in the San Francisco and Los Angeles cases? Fifth, Do they insist that all things shall yield to incessant and inconsiderate demands for greater wage without regard or concern for the disturbance of economic demands of their fellow men and the rights of their neighbors for fair prices and a just cost of living? Sixth, Are they not reckless of the destruction of human life in their controversies and strikes? At no time have they given such evidence of these things as now. Is it only a coincidence that three of the great interests directly related to our national prosperity and to the safety of the people should have been selected as objects of the arbitrary and inhuman strike? The railroads were assailed

in harvest time and are menaced again when carrying coal and distributing food. The steel industry was attacked when the country was trying to recover from the paralysis of war which arrested, by government order, all building operations. The coal mines were closed at the opening of winter, which meant not only the stopping of locomotives on their tracks but the closing down of manufacture and throwing upon the streets in winter of hundreds of thousands of workingmen from contented employments, and the suffering of whole communities for fuel and the starvation of thousands of the poor. Was this loyal? Was this common humanity? No unjust wage could possibly excuse this inhumanity.

There is not in it an instinct of loyalty to which an appeal can be made, nor is there an instinct of humanity for which an argument can be presented. We have had nothing in the application of union principles in this country which has reached such a degree of indifference to the common safety and that is positively so lacking in moral sense as the coal strike. It is easily explained by the fact that the workers at the mines are men of the lower type, the foreigners, but it is amazing that men of supposed intelligence and loyalty should lead ignorant men into defiance of our courts. It is not a case of underpaid and protesting men threatened with cold and hunger. It is an effort to force their higher wage by imperiling the innocent. It is a demand for increased pay

which is reckless of consequences. A great utility concerns all of the people and takes on the nature of a patriotic service. It cannot be decided on grounds of wage merely.

The railroad employees have received increased wages which have cost the government millions of money beyond traffic receipts. The steel laborers are receiving astonishing wages, surpassing the income of many of the professions. We have vivid illustrations of what certain men, whom we will not characterize, will do if they get into their hands the instruments of destruction with which to work their purposes and passions.

The most serious thing about it is that there are enough respectable men of American birth or of undoubted loyalty to give a certain respectability to the efforts of the coarse and riotous elements. If our respected neighbors and fellow citizens would withdraw entirely from organizations which wear the brand of treason against their country until such time as a reform may displace the disloyal practices that now threaten the land with bloody revolution, they would carry a weight of tranquillity and order which nothing could resist. The ignorant foreign menace in our mills and shops would disappear if the leaders were to receive notice that the thinking men of the unions insist upon first consideration for the interests of the whole people. There are problems wider than mines, longer than railroads, that vastly overtop the twenty-four hours a week or ten

dollars a day of men whose whole concept of citizenship consists of pay beyond the dreams of fiction. The country has no right and no duty so great as its duty to put forth the claims of the whole people. The entire people deserve consideration which reduces the workingman's hours and wage to a minimum. He should receive all that his labor is worth. He receives more than the school teacher, the store clerk. It is high time that he were halted at the threshold of interests as great as he represents which are toiling on under the burden which his excessive wage imposes. One might think that all that this country has in hand and its only obligation is to stop all business, all manufacture, all transportation, all mines, annually until it adjusts the wages satisfactorily to the demand of hordes of immigrants, or those of immigrant extraction, that have become crazed by the fabulous pay envelope that would have been in one year unimagined riches in the land from which they came. There are others in this country besides union wage earners. There are others besides Poles, Italians, Greeks, and Slovaks, who have a claim that must be heard. There are small tradesmen and manufacturers; there are farmers and builders of homes; there are steam and electric plants; there are carriers of all kinds; and there are teachers and preachers and lawyers and doctors of the villages and small cities of small salaries and fees, thousands of them. The enumeration could be extended. They do not

strike. They are too intelligent and loyal for demagogues to attempt to lead them into any conflict against the common good to secure selfish interests. But they have a right to insist that the perpetual agitation by persons of less claim than they, which is pushing the cost of living beyond their reach, shall cease, and that the conspirators who are assailing our government and the agitators who are constantly stirring up strife among the dangerous elements of the laboring class shall go behind secure bars or across the seas whence they came.

Duty to our country never was plainer. Our time is not too long to stop a revolution beside which the much quoted and orated French Revolution will be a passing spasm. With the insidious attack upon the police and the bold claim that the army shall be unionized, and with the completion of the ultimate plans of the vast conspiracy, where is the hope of our country? With one element working through the unions to overthrow the government and dictating the social order, with millions organizing for selfish ends without regard to consequences to the country and to their neighbors, how long will it be before the most terrible civil and social war the world has ever known will be upon us? Already the forces have reached preparations which seriously threaten the country. Since the war closed a thousand strikes have developed all over the land and in every form of business. They cannot be for higher pay. The workingman has shown a modicum of

modesty in urging a higher wage and is now coached to say that he is contending for his right to organize and bargain and strike. But that is only preliminary. His leaders are giving the real contention when they charge the trouble not to the capitalist or contractor, but to the government. The whole order of things is wrong. The purpose is to overthrow every opposing force and to control legislature, courts, and officers of the law. Nothing could be more shrewd. The outward appeal is for the poor. The charge is cruelty and brutality to the oppressed workingman. He is excited by having his home contrasted with that of the rich who a few years ago worked at the same forge or with the trowel beside him. He is not allowed to think that there may be an explanation in himself. It is all an oppressive system under which he lives. He is told that he and his fellows made the business and the plants, and that the profits belong to them. The government contests that claim and defines property rights and protects those who hold manufacturing plants and the profits from them in the hands of their owners. Before he can break in upon them and secure them, the government must be broken down. That is the doctrine taught for years by the gutter orators. We have laughed at it, but it has spread to the union. It has been talked in the saloon. It has been revolved in the brain of the discontented laborer and his wife and their neighbor, and to-day millions of men are being urged to con-

test the question as one of personal liberty, and the very doctrines of America are being used as a screen to cover the secret plans and propaganda of the most dangerous foes who have ever imperiled our land.

If the red socialism has so far got control of our labor organizations in so short a time as to threaten the government with cool impunity and to defy its highest lawmaking bodies, what would there be but blood and fierce revolution if these insidious forces could capture the greatest industries of the country —the railroads, the steel plants, and the coal mines? And if they added to these, as is being planned and urged, the federating of the farmer, death would have to strike but a short hand blow to capture the republic.

There is not a more promising country in the world in which to plant the standard of a universal Bolshevism. What blind folly for any to warn us from newspaper columns not to talk of Bolshevism and the I. W. W. as imprudent and irritating! We have had enough of that idiocy. It is time to cry aloud and spare not. It is time to warn our neighbor that treason is federated against his land and country by the alien, and that it means his cottage, his savings bank, his wife, and his liberty in the fall of human law and human rights in organic government. It is time to urge him to abandon an organization, however good may have been its original plans, which seems to be falling into the hands of the foes of our country. The union is fast becoming the

property of the leaders of the poor dupes who fall to their schemes.

To-day the men who are prospering by strikes and the general agitation among the men are the leaders who live in first-class hotels and travel through the country in parlor cars and sport a green bay tree fame before legislative committees and arbitrative councils. They lose no wage. Their homes are on no short allowance. They are not shot in street riots. And when the revolution comes they will order out the firing squads, and they will run away from their desolation when the smoldering embers of the most just and the fairest government that ever blessed mankind cries to heaven against them. Who will be the ruined in that hour, who the dead? The only friends the workingman ever had, the men who built the factory where he worked, the men who financied the business which shared the profits in his wage, the men who built his dispensaries and his hospitals and orphan homes and asylums, the men who created the sanitary conditions which provided health to his home and conducted savings banks to keep safer his earnings and pay him an income on them that soon added substantially to his wages, the men who founded his colleges. Who will build up the ruin again and start the fires in the boilers of the factories and set the foolish dupes, who destroyed themselves, to work again? Not the traitors who ran away, but men just like those who died fighting the murderers of their country. The same plans

must come back. The same old order must be re-established. For six thousand years the world has found nothing better, not anything which can be possibly substituted.

If I am an alarmist, I am not alone. In the Adirondacks, in the clear, balsamic air and the transparent light there, these thoughts pressed upon me and compelled utterance. But I have discovered that the clash and roar of the city was sounding the alarm in the ears of philosophers and profound thinkers there. In Harvey's Weekly have appeared the following warnings, to which we all will do well to take heed:

With over five hundred newspapers, magazines, and pamphlets in every language, even including English, openly preaching the revolutionary overthrow of our government, and anarchist orators howling it to mobs all over the country for a year or more, the federal authorities have found out that there is a propaganda of this sort going on! They have found out what every man, woman, and child in the country, of ordinary intelligence, has known for months and years!

They have found out also, let us hope, that back of this outbreak of strikes from one end of the country to the other—over one thousand six hundred in the last eight months—there looms this same sinister Bolshevist menace. They have found out that strikes have been instigated and precipitated by this same gang of brazen traitors who, once the strike is under way, make it the vehicle for the inculcation of their creed of wreck and ruin for our American form

of government: of property seizure by mob violence; the substitution of mob government for government by law.

The federal authorities, we are informed, have at last found out the notorious, and are "in possession of evidence" of it. Possibly the shrewd suspicions of the federal sleuths were aroused by some such utterances as these, taken from an I. W. W. pamphlet scattered by thousands over the country and particularly in the innumerable strike centers. We quote from the quotation in the Times:

"When the proletariat shall have overthrown capitalism, the I. W. W. will stand, ready made, the preestablished government of the new order. It will not be necessary to call constituent conventions. It will not be necessary to create soviets. It will not be necessary to lavish the precious energies of the proletariat in the desperate experiment of politics, for the I. W. W., which will have fought the revolution, will also pass over the framework of the new communism. The existing parliamentary government will crumble into uselessness. The industrial unions will become the supreme national power. Each industrial union will expropriate the capitalists from its industry. The functions of industrial management will be taken over by the union."

This is the sort of stuff that has been spread broadcast in print and howled from anarchist rostrums for months, until, as Senator Poindexter put it, "the country is seething with violations of the law so far as revolutionary utterances are concerned." And the federal authorities having the evidence of all this, why in the name of heaven do not the federal authorities act? Why are these anarchistic agitators allowed to run at large? There

are laws in abundance under which they may be jailed, deported, hanged if need be. Why are not these laws enforced?

Senator Poindexter has offered a resolution calling upon the attorney-general for an explanation of the Department of Justice's strange laxity in this grave matter. It is a timely resolution. If it results in stirring the federal authorities to action, it will be a service to the country of which the country is sorely in need. There is but one remedy for the anarchistic vermin, foreign or native, now swarming with impunity all over the country, and that remedy is extermination.

"Nationalization of industries" is the glib shibboleth of the day. It is demanded by the revolutionists, advocated by the trades unionists, and worshiped as the Beauty of Holiness by the Parlor Bolshevists. "The nationalization of mines," says the London Daily Herald, the British labor organ, "is the question immediately at issue, but is, of course, a precursor to a complete policy of nationalization of industry. Here is the battle joined." As in Great Britain, so in the United States. The nationalization demands of the railroad brotherhoods, made only a few weeks ago, are still remembered, and are being echoed and repeated by innumerable strikers and agitators to-day. On that issue "is the battle joined."

Now, there would be ample reason for opposing and rejecting this demand on the simple and obvious ground of *ultra vires*. It is a demand which the

trades unions as such have no business to make. It is political, not economical. It is radically and essentially different from a demand for higher wages, shorter hours, profit-sharing, right of organization, collective bargaining, or anything of that sort. These are economic demands which workmen as workmen have a right to make. They concern directly, primarily, perhaps exclusively, the employees and their employers. But the demand for government ownership of industries does not concern them any more than it does every other citizen of the nation. It is a political policy, of universal interest, and is to be determined not by the wishes of any one class, however numerous or respectable, but by the deliberate will and judgment of the entire nation. For labor unions to demand government ownership and to go on strike to compel its adoption is as unreasonable as it would be for them thus to demand and to strike for election of the President by popular vote instead of by the electoral college, or for abolition of the federal income tax system.

There is, however, a still more serious objection to this demand. It is suggested by the fact, made more and more obtrusive day by day, that these very men who most vociferously demand government ownership are foremost in flouting and defying government authority after it has been extended over industries. That has been and is to-day the case in this country. It has been while the railroads were under government control and operation that the

most formidable strikes on them have been planned. It is under government participation in the administration of the mines that coal miners have threatened the worst strike in history. It was in direct defiance of government counsel and intervention that the dock workers went on strike and strove to starve the great cities. Government control and operation of industries command no more respect and give no more satisfaction than private control and operation; and it is therefore obvious that if government ownership should be put into effect there would be no abatement of agitation and strikes. The only change would be that then these would be directed not against individual or corporate employers, but against the national government itself.

And that, we must conclude, is what the advocates of government ownership have in mind. That is the purpose of their demand. They want to strike against the government. They want to be in a position to coerce the government to their will, by the menace of a universal strike of its employees and the consequent paralysis of its functions. That is to say, they want to place the government of the nation under the control of the labor unions; so that a walking delegate can go to Washington and dictate to Congress what laws it shall and shall not enact, and to the President what policy he shall or shall not pursue in either domestic or foreign affairs. That is what government ownership would mean. It

would mean not only ownership and control of industries by the government, but also, and equally, ownership and control of the government by the trades unions. It would be government of the nation by a minority class. It would be, in a word, sovietism.

We do not believe that the American people are willing to accept such a system. We have faith to believe that, at no matter what cost of strife or struggle, they will insist upon maintaining what Theodore Parker once well described as "the American idea, . . . a democracy—that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people." But we warn them to-day that "eternal vigilance is the price at which such government is to be maintained."

The only trouble with the American people is that they will awaken too late. When once aroused it will be as stormy a day for our internal enemies as it would be for an invading army. But our foe is insidious, plausible, and insinuating, and we are still questioning as to his real purpose.

The United States attorney-general said of the coal strike: "It would be a more deadly attack on the life of the nation than an invading army. The facts present a situation that challenges the supremacy of the law." And this attack is led by leaders who, while defying the government, are busy at their infamous work undisturbed by officers of the law. And the government officials

publish their intentions not to indict these men on charges of conspiracy to reduce (in war time) the production of a necessary product, a product indispensable to life in our winter climate, and to the distribution of food.

General Leonard Wood, whose words are never ill-considered, has recently said: "Roosevelt stated openly there was no room in this country for the red flag, and let me repeat there is no room in this country for the red flag. It is against everything which this country stands for—the home, the town, the nation, public morality, private well-being, the security of our institutions, everything that we hold most dear. Kill it as you would kill a rattlesnake, and smack those who follow it, speak for it, or support it. They are dangerous enemies of the state."

It may be said that it is unfair to compare the workingman's organization with the open or secret enemies of our country, but our citizens are responsible for the acts of the ignorant foreign element of the country if they teach or practice the right of disloyal attacks, by strikes or otherwise, upon the peace of the community. The fact that they resort to practices that no other Americans under any other banner use to enforce their claims, and that these things have encouraged bombs and incendiarism, and that the authors of violence are often traced to the unions, is ground for serious thought on the part of federated labor and for reform in

every union of the land. It is a direct and emphatic claim for loyalty. Men may and do have a right to quit a job, but not so as to injure the plant or to abridge the rights of their fellow workmen, nor have they a right to enter a conspiracy that will imperil the life and health or business of their neighbors.

It is a poor loyalty which reckons equivalents. One day that question, "What shall we have therefore?" entered the minds of the followers of the world's greatest Teacher and Guide. It always is in the world. "Will it pay?" What is there in it? It is a proper question in a business transaction. There a man has a right to ask it. There is Bible authority for counting the cost if one is to build a castle. But there are things in which such a calculation is impossible. Love gives and does not ask what it is to get in exchange. A parent does not ask whether it will pay to raise a child. The less likely it is to pay, the more affection and care are bestowed upon it. Children who have come to the responsibilities of the old homestead do not ask whether it will pay to keep father and mother who are waiting beside the hearthstone after the active years have passed by.

There was an old-fashioned love of country of which we heard much when we were boys. And it was love of country which faced death and endured all things for the love of country. The new doctrine of getting as much, for as little as possible, from our country, is not indigenous to our land. It

is imported and enforced by those who never knew the love of any country and who strangely hate ours. He is a poor American who is receptive to these doctrines. A true American will place love of country above love of all things else.

CHAPTER XI

MY NEIGHBOR AND THE CAPITALIST

It is well known that all these things which the public charges to the labor union—its injustice and coarse epithets applied to the nonunion workingman, the poor quality of work, the often-repeated and unreasonable strikes, the damage to business and to trade in the community, and the destruction of property—are all laid at the door of capital, as though capital were a tyrant without mercy to the poor man forced to earn his living in the tyrant's employment. The anarchist workingman is drilled in the school of hate. He is taught that the capitalist has stolen his property from the workingman, that his factory belongs to the workingmen who built it, and should be owned and run by them; that the profits of the business should be divided among those who manufacture the goods, and that they are only asserting a just claim for what they get, and that much more belongs to them. It always is a hopeless task to argue with those who reason upon the surface of things and whose vision is bounded by their own selfish aims and desires. They cannot see that their conceptions of human

life would have kept mankind cave dwellers. They, in fact, talk as though that would be a better condition if they cannot control the present order of things.

Intelligent and thoughtful men know that there is very little difference between the labor capitalist and the labor workingman. They both are laborers. The labor professional man and the hand workingman are both workingmen.

In a construction the laborer puts in his labor, but it cannot be called capital. He takes out daily or weekly or monthly an equivalent of it, and carries it away. He leaves nothing to work on the next day. It must be new work the next day, left for him by some one who did not carry away all that belonged to him. If he took a profit, he could not carry it all away and use it upon himself. He had to deny himself. It was necessary for him to bring back most of the profits and build another factory, that workingmen might be employed, or buy new stock, more steel, more leather, or other material for these men to work up into products. What he brings back and puts into the business is capital. It may have been money which he saved while other men spent theirs in careless or intemperate living. Possibly it was inherited from industrious and frugal parents, whose lands cleared by their own hands had greatly increased in value, or it came from one or more ways that have furnished opportunities for the accumulation of wealth in all lands. It was saved and put

into more accumulation and that is capital. I venture that there is as much self-denial and personal sacrifice in the accumulations of capital as can be found in any of the activities of men, those accumulations which are put at the service of the world, which are turned over for other men to use.

It is a peculiarity of the capitalists of our times that they do not take their profits and hide them away in vaults or deposit them in banks. During the years of their vigor they employ them in ways which furnish the workingman opportunity to earn his living. In what other ways could it be done if it were not done by the capitalist? Certainly, it could not be done by any soviet plan of the workingmen who carry away what they get and use it in the day's necessities or in small savings. Where the experiment has been made, it has failed and been abandoned. Keep in mind the fact that capital is what the hated capitalist leaves in the factory and stock, that the laborer may go to work again to-morrow. He is not the man to be hated by the workingmen. He should be esteemed and prized as a philanthropist. The man who is a burden upon the body politic and in the way of the workingman is the man who is loafing on the workingman's savings. He is the walking delegate. He is a leech on the workingmen's toils. And equally an enemy is any one who thrusts himself into the counsels of the unions and by self-assertion, through fluency of speech and assumption of superior wisdom, through

uncontroverted, nonsensical theories on labor and capital, reaches the position of a leader.

For hundreds of years the world has been ascending the summits where trade and manufacture are in a safe economic system, where the workingman can safely offer his labor with a sure reward of his toils. You see it in the capitalist's corporation. For a time it was in a questionable relation to the public, for we had watered the stock, and it was bartered about in the markets which came to be known as the stock market. But at last it found its level, and the pirates upon it found their level behind prison bars. To-day it safeguards the workingman as does nothing else in the protection of his wages and in a secure form for his savings, if he counsels with conservative employers and bank managers.

Capital is not a man to run away and leave unpaid debts, or to fail with preferred creditors and a bankruptcy of fifty per cent without securities. The corporation has a habitation and must answer to the law for what it is and what it has. With all its old-time faults and present mistakes, it stands under our great financial institutions and manufacturing plants. It accounts for our railroads, every one of them throughout the whole country. Far from being the covered bridge to the rich man's stealings, it is another form of savings bank for widows and orphans and for the workingman's weekly earnings. The corporation is not the exclusive property of the

rich, but in its lists are hundreds of small holders who receive four times a year, in most cases, but always with precise regularity, their dividends. In the great railroads and steel companies and automobile concerns and steamship lines the workingman is often an owner and is a capitalist, for he is leaving something of his earnings to go on and do the world's business. If he hates capital, he hates his own savings whether they be in a bank or invested in a few stocks of a corporation.

Mr. A. H. Smith, president of the New York Central Lines, writes me in reply to an inquiry: "I beg to advise that our stock records show that the stockholders of the New York Central Railroad Company numbered 29,325 on September 22, 1919, of which 18,176, about 62 per cent, were registered owners of less than 100 shares each." That is, considerably over one half of the owners of one of the greatest railroads in the world are presumably people of moderate circumstances, certainly of small and not market-controlling shares.

Two days later I received the following from Mr. Samuel Rea, president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company: "Replying to your letter of the 19th instant: On August 31, 1919, there was outstanding a full amount of full-paid capital stock of $499,265,700, and there were 112,917 stockholders in the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, their average holdings being 88.4 shares (par value $50 each). Of this number only 992 were corporations, so that

our stock, to a very large extent, is held by individuals. Of the total number of stockholders 55,201, or 48.89 per cent, are women, and their average holdings are 54 shares. Altogether, women own 30.07 per cent of our total stock outstanding. The State of Pennsylvania leads in the number of our stockholders with 51,940. New York is next with 19,950. New England has 16,342. Foreign 1,728, and scattering 23,317."

A letter of inquiry addressed to Judge Gary, head of the United States Steel Corporation, brought the following from Mr. Thomas Murray, assistant secretary: "Referring to your favor of the 19th instant to Judge Gary: At the present time, we have 152,584 stockholders, which, divided into our total number of shares, would represent an average of fifty-seven shares for each stockholder. Of the 152,584 stockholders, 45,963 are women, and 45,000 are employees who hold stock. There were 59,864 employees who subscribed in January, 1919, to the 1919 Stock Subscription Plan. These were old as well as new subscribers. When their accounts are paid up, it is estimated that it will largely increase the number of our employees who are stockholders. We regret to say that we have no later figures than those made up the latter part of the year 1911 in regard to the actual number of shares held by the small investor. You will note that our present stockholders number 152,584. In 1911, the number of stockholders amounted to 102,343.

1	share	10,864
2	shares	7,140
3	shares	4,692
4	shares	2,902
5	shares	7,855
6 to 10	shares	20,305
11 to 25	shares	18,236
26 to 50	shares	12,434
51 to 100	shares	8,834
101 to 500	shares	6,635
501 to 1000	shares	896
Over 1000	shares	1,550
		102,343

"THOMAS MURRAY,
"Assistant Secretary."

I had chosen four of the great corporations, that I might learn the facts concerning the holders of their stocks. The fourth one was the Crucible Steel Company, of which my neighbor, Mr. H. S. Wilkinson, is the president. Mr. Wilkinson gives me the same report that I received from the other heads of the great corporations. The majority of the stockholders are people of moderate means, widely distributed. It is the policy of the Crucible Steel Company to make it possible for a large constituency to hold the stock of that great corporation, which is managed in the interest of all the stockholders.

These great concerns are not managed for speculative purposes. Their managers have their for-

tunes invested in them. The American capital behind the workingman is exceedingly interesting, and he who talks about capitalists oppressing the poor gives a glaring exhibition of his ignorance. He who is deceived is without excuse. The capitalists are not what were once known as "bloated bond holders." They are men and women of all thrifty classes. Capital is not something with which men are gambling at the expense of the poor man, but it is what is left over to go into business which helps directly the workingman. It keeps the railroads running, the factory wheels turning, and the great steel forges glowing with industry. If it were all owned by the rich, it is not hoarded. If you destroy it, or distribute it to the communists, you stop every wheel in the country. This would be the most effective way to stop the wheels so they would never start again, as was threatened by an agitator a few weeks ago.

One of the happiest phases of American industrial life is that our working people can and do invest in the same enterprises as those from which the rich receive their dividends. The same mail carries them out the same day to the same post offices. And the small holdings of to-day become the larger ones to-morrow.

The wealth of our country is not held by primogeniture entailed through long generations in vast landed estates in which the majority of the rural population lives by leaseholds, and it does not cor-

respond to the old definitions of values which cannot be exchanged except for labor. We are in a time when labor has an exchange value and its returns exceed the simple hunger and clothes and shelter uses. The laboring man who is frugal and temperate as a rule has a margin, if small, which can be invested and pays him a return value, and to that extent is wealth. And this is not to be despised, because in this country some of the greatest fortunes and some of the largest capitalists have sprung from homes and conditions of poverty. The Rockefellers and Carnegies were poor boys. Mr. Carnegie when a boy, as has been previously stated, worked for a dollar a week and vainly tried to die a poor man. Mr. John Dustin Archbold was the son of a Methodist minister and recalled the days when, as they moved from one circuit to another, he, a barefooted boy, led the cow behind the wagon which carried the few pieces of their rude furniture.

One evening, walking through 125th Street, New York, with my intimate friend John S. Huyler, the candy manufacturer, I found myself suddenly pulled around facing a plate glass window of a store and saw before me a man pulling candy from a hook. Mr. Huyler said to me: "There I am. That is where Jack Huyler began to make his fortune."

"Tell me what you mean," I said.

"I mean," he answered, "that that is the way I began my factories, and out of that have come my stores scattered over the country."

Our land is full of such instances. Nearly all of the capitalists who are cursed as plutocrats by labor agitators have come to their wealth in that way, and the paths are still open if they are not blocked and destroyed by blind fools who are undertaking to lead the blind. Left to themselves and saving from their earnings and using their wits, they cannot fail. Paying away their money in dues, losing their time in strikes, wasting the margins of shortened days, they will remain poor and discontented, the victims of their enemies, and the enemies of their country. There never was a scheme that promised so much to the workingman as that one which enables him to invest his earnings in the business where he works and where in hundreds of cases he is soon the foreman, the general superintendent, and in due time is found in the directors' board room.

The wise plan is to join himself to the strong man, to become in any small way a partner of the larger capitalist, to use the lifting power of his strength, and to see through the eyes of his business sagacity. It ought to require only ordinary intelligence for our workingmen to see that that is the side on which their bread is buttered. It has worked immense advantages to the laborers of the past. What has the gutter orator done for them? What has the red socialist done? With shorter hours and higher pay will more of these men become capitalists such as I have described, or will they shift their entire horizon to the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow? Have

they abandoned the old plan, which is vindicated in thousands of instances of success, to a plan of something for nothing? Is the plan of overthrowing the capitalist more fascinating? That is to overthrow their fellow workingman, for the great majority of capitalists are men who were workingmen who carried their dinner pail to the shop and their pay envelope home Saturday night. This is capable of the plainest demonstration. Set down and reckon up what crowds your memory, and put in what you see around you. If you find exceptions, then what of that man's father? Where did his inherited millions come from if not from a workingman who invested his savings, not in speculative wild oats, but in properties? And what is that heir to millions doing? He is using them and they make employment for the man whose present capital is his hands and whose few investments are his savings.

There seems to be a thought abroad—and it is urged by the blind leaders of the blind—that the capitalist is a man who only pours investments into the hopper and the workingman turns out the grist. Life to the capitalist is a luxury! I have lived among these men long enough and have known enough of them to know that they are the hardest-working men of the community. They are on their job all the time. The laborer quits at five o'clock and leaves his responsibility beside the lathe until eight o'clock the next morning. When the employer goes home often it is to plan the to-morrows,

and to figure himself through changing markets, and keep abreast of unexpected and sudden new demands of trade and fancies, or to meet a threatened strike with the uncertain profits of a business already crippled by shortened hours and increased pay forced a dozen times by the same old threat. It is only the passion for doing things that keeps thousands of these men at the task of urging on their business at a killing pace. It is time to change the wail of pity for the workingman and give a little sympathy to the man who opens the factory door for him after a restless night of anxious plans and schemes for increasing the business. It is about time that the world changed ends of this proposition for a while.

Let us inquire what would be the condition if to-morrow the capitalists were to withdraw all the enterprises that furnish employment. Who would be the loser? He would have his hands. The workingman would not have his business. Let him try to take it. Do you think you could reverse a lifetime of the order of things? The capitalist would have the better of it. Labor would have some smokeless factory chimneys, and that would be all, and he could not carry on in them. When men curse the capitalist they talk about some distant imaginary thing. But he is here. He started the factory and keeps it going.

There is no conspiracy against labor except by labor itself. The economy of this world recognizes

the place of the workingman, and capital is constantly studying how it can secure to him the greatest efficiency, intelligence, and contentment. What advantage can be imagined to accrue to the capitalist from a discontented, half-fed, and half-clothed workingman, tortured by a sick wife, crying children, without proper food or medicine? These are primary questions, too elementary and simple for him to neglect. To promote this workingman's conditions is an important part of the capitalist's investments. When has the world ever seen such great sums of money put into betterments for the workingmen, like baths, reading rooms, music, movies, and lectures? When were the books opened wider and the profits ever shown as they are now? What does the workingman have to say about the distribution of the profits of a business besides his own wage? Is nothing to come to those who have put the capital into it? We have seen that over one hundred thousand people of the Pennsylvania Railroad have claims on the receipts of that road, who are its stockholders, and there are over one hundred and fifty thousand persons of the United States Steel Company who must be paid quarterly their investment dues, and nearly a third of them are women.

These are rather awakening facts in the face of the constantly repeated charge of agitators that capitalists are grinding the poor workingmen between the upper and lower millstones!

The tyranny of capital is the stock in trade of the

union demagogue and agitator, who finds ready listeners in the foreign element which so largely is in control of the organization. The injustice and foolishness of the charge is apparent at once to those who know the wide distribution of capital and how large a per cent of it is in the hands of people of moderate circumstances. Thousands buy broken shares of stocks for permanent holdings. When the Standard Oil Company was unwisely dissolved a few years ago and the expense of its management was increased, forcing the people to pay higher prices for its products, it was found that its stocks were held not only by millionaires but by poor men, by women, and by preachers of the different churches.

Capital is money from all these sources invested in labor-making business, and is peculiarly the hope, and the main hope, of the workingman's wage. The more capital there is, the more work there is. Even the rich man's luxuries must pay their toll to the workingman. The poor man's savings are contributing to employment. We have a wonderful plan in our provision and scheme of capital. Would it be better if hidden in a hole in the ground or a hollow tree or in a stocking? If it is put into a savings bank, it is loaned out to some industry. Capital is money moving and transmuted into lathes and drill presses and looms and mills and factories wherever you see men and women busy earning bread for the home. Will any one tell how this could be done without money which has been saved

by both the rich and the poor? The miserly hoarding of money is the evil against which we are warned. Then it is not capital. It is capital only when it becomes an exchange for labor and labor goes into the progress of the world. The demagogues' hatred of wealth is idiocy which should not deceive anyone.

The chief federation leaders control vast sums of money, and lack for nothing. What better is it whether a man controls capital in a corporation or in the management of the activities and destinies of corporate bodies of workingmen? Is capital an abuse of human freedom when providing men with employment, and a blessing and a defense of freedom when used to antagonize labor and to create riotous strikes and to destroy property? Is the capitalist to be condemned and cursed as a plutocrat for putting his money into factories and the credit to run them, by the employment of thousands of men who have no other way of earning their living? But the capitalist is a benefactor when he creates a great fund for no purpose of business, but holds it as a menace to business and arbitrarily to dictate how business shall be conducted. The one capitalist is creating business, the other is obstructing business. The one is widening the markets of the world, the other is threatening them, if he does not destroy them. There has been money enough shut up in a generation, by the blind leaders of labor, and used wastefully and destructively in our mighty fields of in-

dustry, to capitalize Europe in these days of its dire distress. If there is any ground for the criticism of capital, it is of the capital which has been used only to wage war against the men who have dared to risk their fortunes in investments which promote the thrift and happiness of thousands of families who are the units of our national life and civilization. The obnoxious and intolerable capitalist is that millionaire who never created a business, but has wriggled himself into the management of the dues and fees of the unions of hard-working men whom he strangely deceives. He is to all intents and purposes a millionaire, the plutocrat capitalist of demagogy and destruction.

It is no credit to the intelligence of the workingman that he should be so dull and slow in discovering his great and indispensable friend, the business capitalist who provides him employment, and that he should assess himself year after year to pay men to discredit capital in the realm of labor, men who notoriously were never in anything producers, but have been destroyers of both labor and capital.

CHAPTER XII

MY NEIGHBOR'S WALKING DELEGATE

A GREAT business requires a promoter. It is a feature of the modern way of extending legitimate enterprises, and as every good thing has its counterfeit, some bad things have promoters. That labor should have promoters is right and without suspicion or just criticism. It was natural and to be expected that so large a part of the activities of men would require an organized force, and that men should be chosen to give their time to the promotion of its interests. No one could complain of that. But it carried a great responsibility. The men chosen must be men with remarkably sound judgment and with the wisdom of the serpent and the harmlessness of the dove. They could promote or they could destroy. They could make the workingmen a power for good, serving their country, or they could make them a menace. They would have to deal with many men, some of them ignorant, impulsive, passionate, and suspicious—among them some recently from foreign countries where they had been trained to feelings of antagonism to their country. The whole work to be highly successful must be constructive. It must amalgamate within the organization, and affiliate and coordinate outside of it. The labor union must

work not only to promote itself but to make itself a promoter of all that is best for the community. It can be seen, therefore, that men in the unions, who are its representatives outside, must be men of a high character. The fact that a man represented a union in any capacity should be the best recommendation he can have. That that has not been true is too patent and obvious to be denied by even its best friends, and the most serious mistake has been with the walking delegate. He may be a good carpenter or mason, but too often he has been far from an impressive man. It is not necessary for him to be a Chesterfield or Beau Brummel, although gentlemanly instincts and cordial address would not harm him. The menacing manner upon the part of the walking delegate has been accountable for many a strike. The man should be capable of interpreting the man he addresses, and diplomat enough to secure an amicable understanding of questions involving interests intensely personal and often equally exciting. But usually the walking delegate appears to be chosen because he is a vote-getter within the union, by qualities which in no way fit him for his delicate work. He is a mixer among his fellows, but not with men to whom he must bring his organization on strictly its merits. Espionage is always oppression, and if it comes to the front, the man who practices it goes to the rear. It blunders. Its conceits are blinding to the spy. It has a meddling appearance which is

resented. This is one of the most fruitful sources of unpopularity. The plan of a business is sensitive to inquisitiveness. Any obtruded management from outside is resented. The intermediary between labor unions and a business of any kind should be of distinct endowment. The union has no more critical office within itself than the wise choice of a walking delegate.

The walking delegate is under a great pressure to make good. He feels that he has to make a good report, one of real, constant progress, to justify his employment. That is one of the embarrassments to the business agent in anything, whether it is a special prosecuting attorney or a walking delegate. A few years ago a large number of prosecuting attorneys were employed by the government in its attack upon big business. These men seemed to feel that they must prosecute everything in sight and scores of men were prosecuted who could not be convicted. The result was the failure of the good in the plan to eradicate the evil and it entrenched men in practices that merited severe penalties. This overdoing of the office brought it into contempt among sober-thinking people, and some years have passed with small attention to evils which it was sought to correct by special attorneys. The walking delegate is an evil of the labor union which has been not only carelessly done but overdone. It has created too many who must find something to account for themselves, and who ought

to be employed in the world's work. The things they try to do would work themselves out far better if left to the laws of business and labor which are always operative to bring about contracts and the workingman's employment. Contractors do not require walking delegates, nor the typewriter works, nor the automobile manufacturers. Competition is not overcome by attacking the other man's business, interfering with his contracts, breaking the machines in shops of typewriters and automobiles. In so far as these are promoted by agents, they go out upon the principle that the world is large and there is room for every man who is doing things which other men want done. (There must be an inherent weakness and fatal defect in a business which must destroy or embarrass another business to live.) All of the worst things possible seem to be embodied in the walking delegate. He appears on a job to see who is there who ought not to be there, or who is not there who ought to be there—according to his judgment. And after a controversy with the representatives of the firm, interlarded with threats and profanity, he makes his way back to the union to advise that the business be declared unfair. A sound, self-contained man ought to have seen that it was not unfair, and if it were, there was a better way to secure a fair adjustment. To the layman who is a full-blooded American and has in his veins the freedom which came from the old musket which he found in his father's attic, the question will come

forcibly as to what right any unchartered and self-constituted body of men has to send out a representative to call their fellow citizens in question for the pursuit of their business, so long as it meets the requirements of the laws. These delegates should be in the Legislature, making sound laws, and not on the building or in the factory, quarreling with the proprietor. Upon what authority, or by what right did this body of men send out this meddler to interfere with the business of the world and to do it over and over and constantly menace business until it is impossible to conduct business or to employ workingmen upon any certain basis? The plan works against not only the business but is a most harmful agency to the man who depends upon some fixed and stable price for his own labors. Untold millions are lost foolishly by the folly of walking delegates.

That it may not be truthfully said that these strictures upon the walking delegate are by men who have no practical knowledge of the institution or the work of the men, I will give some personal observations, for the only purpose of these chapters is to serve the country by a better condition in the working world. A young janitor at the institution where I am located developed an unusual ability in the practical mechanic arts. He attempted to apply it in some plumbing work about the laboratories and was threatened with arrest for working without license. He applied for a plumber's license. He

passed the examinations, but, to use the trade term, was turned down. He passed again with the same result. A third effort met with no better result, and a fourth examination was taken. I then insisted that the questions and answers of the city board, made up of union men or their sympathizers, should be published in the city papers. I notified the controlling political influence of the city of my purpose and was requested to wait a few days. Within the few days the license came and the character of the work done under it has never been questioned. But when our licensed plumber attempted to buy goods, he was not permitted to buy at wholesale houses, but was restricted to the retail trade. Other plumbers had the discount which he was refused. The wholesalers apologized, but they were told, they said, that if they sold to our plumber, their trade would suffer. The walking delegate was on his job. The case was reported to me by the trade. I told our plumber that I wanted him to go to Boston and buy, at best wholesale rates to wholesalers, a carload of plumber's materials. If he could not get it there, to go to New York; and if he could not buy there, go to Philadelphia; and if he found himself blocked there, to come home and I would send him to Liverpool and London. He bought in Boston. The material was hauled through the streets to the University. Instantly the telephones began to ring, and we were told with regrets that that need never happen again. We should have all the goods we

wanted at the best price given to anyone in the town. We have had no trouble of that kind since.

We have had buildings posted as unfair, and have been notified that the placard would be taken down for a certain penalty. The amount dwindled to the cost of printing the circulars. Not a nickel was paid. Our latest experience, one of many, was a few weeks ago. We always have employed union men, and when desired and we could do so without extra expense, have put them on separate buildings. But our superintendent found it imperative to dismiss a union painter who had worked for us for months. At once the walking delegate appeared and told our superintendent that he must discharge all nonunion men or work would be stopped everywhere in the institution. Union men would not be permitted to work in separate buildings if nonunion men worked anywhere about the premises. A large hospital and a dispensary are owned by the university. The hospital sheltered hundreds of young soldiers in the terrible influenza epidemic then raging, with great difficulty. The nurses' lecture rooms, the chapel, the corridors were crowded. Several of our nurses gave up their lives in the work. Our superintendent has been in a sanitarium for weeks as a result. We received the gift of a great research laboratory demanded by our increasing patients. Lives were to depend upon its practical work. Every union man was taken off it. A few days' work of electricians could finish it. No concession to the sick and dying

would be made. Other parts of the hospital were in special need of help. There was but one condition—force out our old and tried help in all departments or no men of any trade would be permitted to work anywhere about the university. The walking delegate came into our buildings. I saw him standing where he could watch men coming and going. A break in a water main must be mended. We were notified that nothing would be permitted until we came to terms. We are not anxious. These are sample cases. They show the character of the usurpation, the tyranny of the organization that has no regard for our hospitals, that purposes to coerce our educational institutions, when at that very moment sons and daughters of some of these men are receiving remittances of tuition expenses in the university and men themselves, or their wives, are occupying free beds in the hospital.

To what lengths of degradation will men go as organizations, to what barbarism will they be aroused by excited and passionate speeches of their walking delegates in their meetings where no man is present to state the side of humanity? It is not a contest of starving men for a place to work. There is work enough for every union and non-union man in that city. It is not a question of whether they shall get wage enough to buy food and clothes. There is no division on that subject. It is simply and only a determination upon the part of a band of men that other men shall not work. And the offense of

these men is that they do not choose to belong to their union and work with their card. They are competent and satisfactory to their employers, but they insist upon being free men, and, having the spirit of '76 they insist the more where their freedom is put to the test and denied them. They see foreigners and foreign-born men, who would be fought in battle to the death if they landed here armed to enforce the same rules, permitted to dictate the terms of our human liberty in matters that relate to our common business interests. We are plainly notified, by an agent sent out, whom we shall not employ and whom we must employ. We are told when we can work and when we cannot work, however degrading the tyranny may be. The national government never assumed such paternalism. They could not put it into the Constitution. It has never gone into any amendment. We look for it in vain in our Declaration of Independence, when we were revolting from foreign oppression and tyranny. It remains for men claiming the protection of our law to oppress their fellow men.

There are men of excellent character among walking delegates. They have their place with our best citizens, and are capable of looking at all sides of the problem of labor. You do not find impulsive strikes where these men have a controlling influence. But from the experiences of those who have much to do with labor and judging from correspondents in our conservative and most reliable great daily

papers and other periodicals, the majority of walking delegates are men whom contractors and manufacturers do not wish to take into their councils. An instance is in the recent case of the president of the United States Steel Corporation. He will not consent to personal interviews. He prefers to receive written communications. And that has been the common verdict of men at the head of the great businesses of the country. As a rule, the walking delegate is ignorant. He is uninformed in everything except where men of his order are working, their pay, and whether firms employ any men outside of the union. The narrowness of his horizon is astonishing. How can he discuss a contract of hundreds of thousands of dollars, with all of its complications, of which labor is only a small part? What argument can appeal to him? It was a relief when he, a disturbing element, left the job of the contractor to whom he now becomes an ignorant dictator, for he was more active with the tongue in his vacuum caput than with his hammer or trowel. He was the most unsatisfactory workingman among his fellows. That tongue gave him a most fortunate position in the union or associated unions to which he belonged.

The labor unions will never have the place which they might have, a place of confidence, respect and power in the community, until they show an appreciation of the dignity and intelligence that should characterize them by carefully selecting representa-

tives from their most respected members. If we are to believe the signed and circumstantial accounts in leading papers, the men now acting as walking delegates are instigators of most of the trouble between labor and manufacturing business. If they do not throw the first brickbat and fire the first shot, it is often at their word that such violence begins. And having begun, it needs no one to lead. It is unheard of that the walking delegate is on the side of the police restraining violence, protecting lives and property.

The labor union should be made to feel that it is responsible for the acts of its agents, measured by loss of life or property traced to their instigator. A few lessons like that of the Danbury hatters case would be most wholesome. It never should have been nullified by any modifying law. Something extraneous and unimagined by our fathers, and that has received too little attention from our legislators, has been thrust in upon us and claims not an equal place but the controlling authority over us. It threatens votes to the opposite party and brickbats, pistols, revolvers, and the incendiary torch all mixed into one bill of fare to all who disregard or oppose them.

What would be thought of an association of merchants or manufacturers who were to start out with the claim of monopolizing the business of their kind in the town, and if anyone not of the association were to come into the place and start a business, the

association were to send out its walking delegates and threaten the new association with violence if he did not join the association or move out? We have just had a case similar in a thriving city of New York State. An Italian of another town was murdered because he did not heed the threat that this would happen to him if he came there to compete with men in the same business. But why have not our dry-goods merchants the right to associate themselves together to protect their prices against all comers by closing the privilege to trade against them, if a number of laborers can combine to stop all work in a town when anyone is hired who does not belong to their union? What more would the association of dry-goods merchants do if it sent out hired agents to go over to the new store opened yesterday and say, "We mean to stop your interfering with trade here unless you pay a thousand dollars to belong to our association. We judge that that would be about right from the prospects of your trade, as an annual due"? And if the head man kicked that delegate out into the gutter, his business would be posted as unfair! And if that did not do, customers would be intercepted on their way to the new store; and if that did not accomplish it, a brickbat would go through the plate-glass front of the new store, and it would be made personally dangerous for the customers in that store. And some morning the town's people would read at breakfast that the new store had been struck by lightning!

Would that be any worse than the Los Angeles Times case?

Why would it, and why should anyone complain? Is not that what is being done by walking delegates and their associates all over this country? If the union workingmen can do that and we consent to it, why not the merchants? O, but it is inconceivable! Ought not the other to be equally so? Why should workingmen have a monopoly of this high privilege? Why should they force the price of labor up whenever the notion takes them and the merchant must take his chances of supply and demand and compete with every newcomer who may bring into the town his new and taking notions? Is it fair? Is it just? The merchant pays for his privilege in increasing taxes. What does the workingman pay for his privilege? In what does his right inhere over his neighbor, the merchant? Why not the manufacturers? Why not let our city or town be made a close corporation against everybody who cannot be mulcted for the privilege he seeks among us? American freedom is barred at our city limits. Take down the auto speed sign and put in its place that no man of any trade or labor, calling or manufacture can stop here without the consent of the particular trade or calling to which he seeks to belong. Individual freedom that came with our common liberty has been revoked here.

If you cannot see that there is no difference, can you tell us what the difference is? Upon what prin-

ciple is the action based in the one case that it could not be upon the other? Suppose the whole matter of the workingman's arbitrary demands were revised, and that unions were formed of contractors and owners and capitalists, and that the banks—as is not impossible soon—were to decide that they will do no business nor loan any money except upon certain fixed prices for labor and for material, would they exceed their right in the case if the workingmen do not exceed theirs now? But it would be conspiracy against the public. And the public is a fiction. It has not had personality nor identity enough to protest against the labor oppression and protect itself. And is not the union strike a conspiracy? Why is one not as much a conspiracy as the other? And if one is permitted, why not the other? We know and feel the absurdity of permitting any body of men privilege beyond the law, and especially if it denies other men their privileges. The workingman's walking delegate, or any other agent who interferes with the privilege of men to work where they please, or spies upon any business and interferes with it, should be arrested and put before the courts and sharply fined or sent to prison. He should be treated as any other lawless character is treated. Until that is done, we shall be kept in a state of turmoil and no man can predict any certainty in business or labor.

How does it seem to native-born Americans that these self-constituted dictators should be able to set

up their authority among us? We have a Constitution, but more than that for generations we were able to appeal to public sentiment and it was about as effective administrative law as we had. But who thinks of making such an appeal now? It is no longer what is the great concentrated and common, the universal moral sense? but what of votes and what of trade? The acts of some of our senators, with symptoms of the old-time obedience to the demands of their country, are throwing a scare into the so-called public by ignoring all questions of political expediency and submitting the higher questions: "What is the demand of our country? How can we save it from a blind sentimentalism to which it is attempted to sacrifice it?" Until there is a like return to what was our glorious heritage of public sentiment, men in key positions will not feel the call to rescue their country by the force of the public appeal, the force that quickens by a common consent, that strangely and suddenly awakens in many places at once, as by an inspiration, to a united action, when questions carry their own answers and when all men who violate law are criminals, and when the people who keep the laws are the best custodians of the common welfare. It is the spirit that seizes men in war when personal sacrifices are reckoned as small things, and the end for which the battle is on is the only worthy thing. It is high time that we all united in a vigorous question: "What is the right of this thing, why is it here?" Demand its credentials.

Let the employer inquire, "Who gave you authority to order me about, to close my business, to forbid my work?"

We insist that nothing can be more destructive to our great republic than to permit any practice by any man, be he the President or an organization of men of any character or influence whatever, that becomes a purposed and planned violation of law, or even the long-practiced and recognized rights of the citizens of our country. One of the startling features of the claims of labor unions is that exceptions must be made in their case which do not obtain with other people. If every concession is not made to workingmen, then the state is unfriendly and the party is discriminating against labor. Picketing, posting, striking, meddling with business that would not be tolerated must be legislated! When a body of men comes into any governing economy and sets up an opposition or begins to rule in defiance of law, and the people tamely submit to it, the fate of that government is sealed. The only hope is that the abuses will become so glaring that a reaction will set in and a revolution against a revolution will take place. There are some wholesome intimations that such a fear is coming upon the chief men of the labor unions. The king of labor unions, previously referred to, who strode down the gang plank of the incoming steamer with a defiance to our great business leaders, whom he notified were shorn of their crowns and were "no longer monarchs of all they

survey," is found hurrying to warn his subjects that they must call off their threatened strikes and firing lines. He hastens into a New York daily with a discussion of the great things accomplished in his reign and to counsel the conservation of the things gained. It is wise advice, if forced by the handwriting on the wall.

The people are beginning to ask some uncomfortable questions. Strikes are not submitted to so tamely. When the workingman is underpaid, the public will listen to the plea for an increase, but when it is a common burden, the question will become very practical: Why should not the working man bear his share of the common burden of the times? Why should everything be adjusted to him? What about the salaried man whose salary has been decreased by over one half by the sixty per cent dollar at which he is paid, and when the cost of living pinches him more severely? Fortunate he is if he receives an increase of twenty-five per cent with pay of the same dollar. The laboring man is not the only man who feels the sharp pinch of these times. The tradesman, the teacher, the preacher, the thousands of small farmers and village folk, and tens of thousands more not necessary to mention, are in the vise of these hard times, and suffer far more than the day laborers. The farm hand is boarded. His clothes are always inexpensive. There is no reason why his wage should be more than doubled except that he can force it. The day laborer whose

pay was one dollar fifty cents per day, as we have shown and which we repeat to emphasize, has four dollars a day because while the boys were away at war he could get it. It seems as though the whole country turned itself over into the hands of thieves, led on by the labor unions which were organized to strike if their commands were not obeyed. The correction of our troubles is not in legislation against cold storage and high prices so much as it is in sending men back to work and making it a penalty to forbid any man to work.

The walking delegates, hundreds of them through the country, are doing more to keep prices beyond the reach of people of moderate circumstances than any other influence. They go out to demand that the workingman, not of the country but of the unions comprising a minority of laborers, shall have what they set as their price, whoever is paid less than his needs. The government has been a party to this partiality until it has bred nests of arrogant vipers all over the country and now appeals to Congress to legislate us back into prewar prices. You might as well legislate the stars in their courses. Let all men who desire to work be treated alike. Put down the arrogance of a minority of labor that professes to be the whole body of workingmen, and give every man a chance to go to work and add to the world's production. Nothing else will reinstate normal conditions. The curse of this time is paternal meddling with the labor calling of the

country. The vote-getting places everything into the dictation of one man, who boasts that he controls the President, the secretary of war, the secretary of the navy, and the secretary of labor.

When we look for the secret of the startling prices of food and clothes and attempt to locate the causes, we have not far to go. The way of thousands of producers is barred; and if they are not always successfully prevented from offering their services to the country, they are enrolled in the lists of extortioners by the artificial conditions forced by strikes. But to-day the men who are most reasonable in their wage, and at the same time who offer more hours and do more efficient work are the nonunion mechanics. Yet we face the astounding statement that these men shall not be permitted to work without incurring the enmity of the unions. The country needs them, and in many instances the people prefer them, but their employment will interfere with the union, which insists upon forcing men into its ranks whether they wish to enlist or not; and if they will not consent, they must stop work or take the perilous chances of being maimed, have their wives and children insulted, and their homes burned. If there is any change in that program, it is new and because the raw and barbarous Bolshevism, which is now insidiously seeking control of the unions, must be restrained. But nearly as bad things have been done in this country, except judicial executions, as have been done in Russia and the difficulty of bring-

ing the murderers and incendiaries to justice is notorious.

Standing one day in a house just being completed, a walking delegate appeared and brusquely asked: "Who is going to paint this house?"

"I am going to paint it!" To the next question the same answer was given, "I am going to paint it."

The delegate walked away sullenly, with an implied threat which he did not dare enforce. Now the courage is not lacking. Though it does not take a violent form at present, what it will do in the future remains to be seen. One of the worst evils of the walking delegate plan is that it turns your neighbor into your enemy, leads peaceable citizens to justify their violence. Suspicion is awakened, resentment is aroused, and there is an irritating body influencing the social conditions of those who ought to be the best of neighbors.

The principles on which unions move and have their being, and the methods they apply to accomplish their ends unfit men to act as judicious and wise representatives. Such a thing as equality of rights, of concessions to others is not known among them. They start out with the assumption that what they claim is an indisputable authority. No court gives it to them, and it has not been voted as a concession by their neighbors. They start out their representative to announce their plans and assert their claims. He issues a threat. He invites

destructive riots. He is in no sense a delegate. He is a dictator

The teachings he has heard inside, the narrowness of the principles, the absurd claims of rights by the destruction of the rights of others, make up the walking delegate to the mind of the community. He becomes a nuisance and a menace.

Take the chief functionary. He never has thought of anything but the enforcement of union claims which are his own creation. Horizons so narrow and upon such low levels, purposes so selfish, interests of one class and kind, which permit no consideration of those whose interests differ, make it impossible for their author and champion to grasp statesman conceptions and to lead safely men in a land of such broad and at the same time complex interest. It is unfortunate that interests so important should be narrowed down to increase of wage, length of working hours, and the dictation of the terms upon which all men shall work. What can you expect of the reaction upon such a leader but what you see reflected in the walking delegate? Have you ever known the community to select such men for high representative positions? Do they find their way into legislative bodies? Are they on the bench? Are they our mayors, aldermen, and assemblymen? They are discredited by the community. They have no thought in common with their fellow men. They are a type of men unfitted for leadership by the doctrine of the organization

which sends them out. Their narrowness and insolence and ignorance create resentment and resistance wherever they come. They are not the friends of the manufacturer or the builder, and failing to secure the end they seek by a diplomacy which they do not know how to use, what more natural than that they should incite the strike as the last resort? That is the only vindication of their claim to the coveted positions they hold. It is not strange that they are what they are because they are what the organizations are which send them out to disturb business and not to tranquillize it.

Men are the representatives of the company they keep. The man of the church, whether genuine or counterfeit, takes on the likeness of the church. Forms of business put their trademark upon their travelers and agents. The walking delegate is feathered in the nest where he was hatched and where he grew. He does not need to announce himself.

He would not be needed by the Masonic order, nor by the Odd Fellows, nor by a church or synagogue. He is required by a cause which does not commend itself, which purposes to oppress and arbitrarily compel an unwilling constituency. It is a cause which if left to its own principles and the merits of its cause would tumble into pieces. One of the best things labor unions could do for themselves would be to test their inherent merits by getting rid of their walking delegates. That they can-

not force much longer their obnoxious demands upon the people is becoming every day more apparent. The resistance is rapidly increasing. Nothing so un-American can live on American soil.

CHAPTER XIII

MY NEIGHBOR A FREE MAN

I HAVE gone far enough to show the un-American character of the labor union as it now stands. It is in violation of every principle upon which our country was founded, and it never can harmonize and have a forceful relation to the country until it changes radically its principles and leaders. It is an attempt to set up a government and dictate the rights and liberties of men within a government which covers all of our rights by legislation, courts and executives chosen by all the people.

The American people never will consent to such arrogant and insolent dictation. It is not strange that this poisonous exotic has flourished and got its roots so deeply planted. It is the American trait to tolerate every new thing and often perilously. Toleration is mistaken for liberty. We tolerate a seditious press and listen to traitorous public speech. Men and women always have organized themselves secretly for any purpose, even for the destruction of life and property. The labor union has come in under the general laxity and indifference, and has grown up among us until it has passed from control of labor to defiance and dictation of courts and

federal offices and even served notice on the President of the United States that his word "will not go"! Appeals of suffering, of cold and hunger and sickness, are fairly trampled under foot by selfishness that has become heartless and brutal. The blind assertion of this selfish power has led men to violate contracts and to disregard their oaths of office. It has robbed them of every gentlemanly instinct, and made them cowardly and brutal in their conduct toward those neighbors who insist upon their rights as free men. They call them scabs for being and doing what the Constitution of their country guarantees to them. They teach their children in their homes to use this vile language and carry it out upon the streets and into the school yards. It works against religion and the church and alienates the best of friends and gets into the politics of the community and its trade, and perverts the whole social order.

How long do rational people imagine that such a condition can go on without becoming more than a passing menace to the country? It has been deprecated by self-respecting men and women who have cherished the hope that its own intolerant and coarse spirit would react as correction. But we are now awakening to the fact that wrong does not correct itself by evolution of more wrong, as we face a revolution broadly hinted by prominent leaders and openly preached by its bolder agitators. The latter promises the workingmen, but only the union work-

ingman, that his case in court will be adjudicated without regard to facts or evidence, and that private property will be confiscated by the workingmen "who have created it." Homes, land, stocks and bonds, wives and cattle will pass into the hands of the laboring people. This is the secret goal. How the property will be any less private when it is robbed and stolen and handed over to individuals of the robber gang, they do not tell us. It is high time for this great land to awake to the mischief which is being wrought by these pirates upon private rights and property, emboldened by their numbers, and boasted as reaching into millions of members, with the courage and energy of a Hansen of Seattle and a Coolidge of Massachusetts. We must serve notice that the limit has been passed and that any further aggression will be treated as crime, and crime with severest penalties attaching. There are some things in the earth which should not be forgotten nor forgiven. We do not forgive a Benedict Arnold, who sought to betray our land, young and defenseless, into the hands of a foreign invader, We will not forgive men among us, enjoying our liberties, earning their livelihood from our opportunities, having their security and safety in our laws, who foster in any organization to which they belong any destructive doctrine or men who covertly or in any way seek to overthrow the institutions of our country and substitute the lawlessness which is a brigandage of robbery and

a reign of terror. Ignorance of consequences is no excuse for such men, for there is no excuse for ignorance in this country. How can any man fail to see the present tendencies of the hour? What plainer source of unrest, what clearer cause of the high cost of living is there than the failure of production by shortened hours and by increase of pay granted to constantly increasing inefficiency of labor? The whole system is a curse to our country, and in it one evil breeds another until it is swarming with parasites of infection and destruction.

I warn the workingman who was my neighbor that he is already late. The day is far spent. He should have wakened long ago. Millions of dollars in wage, in property, and ruined business, and tens of thousands of lives, are traced to his door. History will write a black chapter of this whole matter. Happy the men who take the warning of their friends and escape from the responsibility of destructive forces into which they innocently have been beguiled by the vicious leaders to whom they intrusted themselves. These men were not Americans. They have never had a constructive thought. They have joined themselves to the unions to use them. They live from the fees and fines. They have every motive to keep up a condition of unrest. They are frightened by any possible overthrow of organized labor and the kind of it which secures their purpose. They stop at nothing which will fix their hold more firmly upon the greatest following

in the country, a following which gives them a grip upon the President of these United States and upon the congressmen, the courts and the legislators; and giving them that grip for themselves, senators stand aside for them at the White House. Attorney-generals are notified as to the unwisdom of the laws they administer, and senatorial committees are notified that laws which they prefer to recommend will not be obeyed if they are passed. And labor leaders are supported, obeyed, and championed by citizens in my town and in hundreds of towns throughout this broad commonwealth. And what comes out of it all to my town or to the country? Who is the better off? Their lies are believed when they say that they opposed strikes which they secretly instigated and encouraged, and which they promote by attacks upon government injunctions which seek only to save the people from the peril of winter without bread and fuel. How can our neighbors be remotely joined to any such infamous procedure? The owners of the soft coal mines brand Mr. Gompers's description of conditions in the mines as false in every sentence of his statement sent out to the unions through the press, and offer to prove their charge against him by any tribunal sent by the government for the facts. Every informed man knows that the leaders did all that they could do through all the land to create prejudice against capital which employs labor and against any effort of the government to restrain oppressive and destructive action of the

unions and preserve to nonunion men their liberties as citizens.

How long is it going to take men, to whom God has given eyes, to see the true situation and rise up and shake off the leeches who have destroyed their unions and brought them into disrepute throughout their country? Do they think that there would have been any objection to the Boston police joining a union if unions had not become notorious in their inimical attitude toward the country and too distinctly partisan in a community for officers of the law to be trusted in them?

Were the union what it ought to be, there would be no objection to police officers joining it. They join the Masons and the Odd Fellows. They join the churches and Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A. and Knights of Columbus. The country says it is not safe for them to join labor unions or form unions under control of union leaders, or obey union rules.

It is astounding that intelligent men will join themselves to force their will against the majority of their fellow citizens in a country where government is by the consent of the majority. The labor union is, and always has been, a minority of the workingmen of our country. Not one workingman in fifty in the country belong to a union or has any use for it. And yet it dictates terms of labor, forces up cost of buildings and manufacture and the prices of living, and attempts with violence to say where

men who are not associated with them shall or shall not be employed. Any man with red blood in his veins will resist such insolent assumption. No man worthy of the blood of the founders of this land will permit any man to invade his rights and liberties as a free citizen. It lacks only a little further awakening, the ripening of the time for free Americans to arise and exterminate such institutions and sweep out of the country the leaders who dare to set up an authority in this republic to control communities without law and without justice to serve their selfish ends. Selfishness never has won among intelligent peoples. There is not a monument in the land reared to selfishness, lawlessness, and piracy upon human rights.

What can be done with the union which pirates men's rights? Withdraw from it; leave it to its own kind only. It lives by having on its rolls respected men who acquiesce in its principles while refusing active part in its violences. But they count with it. Their money supports it, and their names give it standing and influence. Left to those who give it its characters and who represent its treasonable and inhuman purposes, it would fall to pieces by the light which falls upon it. Light causes a living tree to grow; it destroys a dead one and rots it down to its roots.

The problem of what to do with the destructive leaders who are the authors of counsels which have destroyed the labor unions is most puzzling.

Certain poisonous characters of a community are difficult to remove, because when sent out of one place they go to another or scatter more widely. It is often said that they should be deported, and that would be the easy way if it could be done. A ship named Deportation should be put into commission at once. But there is no port to which it could be cleared. There is no place on earth where they would not be a greater curse than they are here, for there is no place which could take care of them and restrain them as we can. It is a pity that we do not own some great island, a St. Helena, a Perrim, a Devil's Island, where we might export these creatures, as they do the dogs out of Constantinople, to prey on each other, and guard them there that no one might come near them and no one escape from among them. And let them build up a government there to suit themselves. That is not what they want. They do not purpose to build up anything. They want to destroy, and there would be nothing to destroy in such a place. They would need no schools—they thrive on ignorance; no churches—they are damned already; no property—they hate capitalists; no law—they recognize no restraint and they are a law to themselves. No one would miss them, for they add nothing to any country's peace or prosperity or safety. They have done nothing but curse every land where they have lived. What a shout would go up from millions on the shore the day they sailed away! and nobody would want them

ever to come back again. What a wail would they hear where they landed, if any one lived there!

Alas! we have no such island to which to send these restless, infectious invaders who have come like an Egyptian plague among us, though not sent by God as a judgment, but by the devil, whose sons they are. And having no island for banishment, and carelessly having permitted them to gain citizenship, we cannot return them to their ancestral lands. We can only lament that we have no place where we can plant such a colony. We cannot find a state which will tolerate them. We cannot purchase any territory from the borders of which there would not come up an outcry of protest against the possibilities of such neighbors on its state line. But we have some laws left yet. They have not all been turned over to this and other forms of socialism. There are even some signs that they all have not been forgotten. The grand old injunction against rioters has at last been put into commission. If decent, self-respecting men all over the land will come out and leave these leaders to their own kind, the laws of our country will make short work of them. They will be without voters to threaten our Legislature and without power to menace our courts and congressmen. They will be forced to seek an honest living. The walking delegates will have to get a job, the orators and promoters of discontent will find a lathe or forge or miner's pick or brick-mason's trowel. The members

of the unions purged of the curse that blighted them, will organize on a new basis and adopt principles that will harmonize with the institutions of their country and put a conscience into their labor and render an equivalent for the wage they get, and the world will be at peace once more.

If they do not do these things voluntarily and peaceably, they must take consequences of the other method, for the country is fast coming to the assertion of majority rule. Those who have long been obliged to hunt labor secretly and borne the odium of the application of degrading epithets to themselves and their families and the peril of bombs beneath their homes, will arise in force and exterminate the reptiles from their towns and neighborhoods. It cannot come too soon. The sooner it comes, the less will have to be done. The evil has increased marvelously since the war drew to a close. The boldness of the violent leaders has appeared in every strike condition of which they have been the conspirators. Let the issue be drawn at once. Many men will find themselves enlisted in a campaign for their country as patriotic as any the world has known. They will pay the price of their devotion, their courage, their conscience, with their blood. But it will be a small price, for law will stand erect and justice will continue to hold the scales. The sanctity of the home will remain, men of sound mind and industry will be free, and the business of men can be conducted and reck-

oned upon a basis of values without the hazard and uncertainty of a meddlesome element cutting down production.

The chief gain will be in law. There can be no stability without law. Men without law are animals, carnivorous animals which destroy each other. We may flatter ourselves that things could not happen here which have devastated Russia. We are in closer communication. We could more quickly reach distant ports and reenforce them. We are better policed. But we do not take into the account the slumbering elements in the most of our cities, the secretly organized bodies of men and women who wait their chance, or what they think would be their chance. We have not taken the measure of the depths of deception into which the minds of our citizens have fallen, who have been taught to charge life's failures to the successful. There is a measure of conceit about that which is mistaken for principle and conscience, and which fights with the blindness of fanaticism. A propaganda has been going on for years, trifling in its proportions, but gaining tremendous momentum by importations and socially reenforced by an appeal to our prosperity. In a land of such exceptional opportunities, and where the few become rich beyond imagination, there must be something wrong with the distribution, is the clamor of the socialist. His logic, that all men, if things were right, would be alike in all things, is wonderfully taking to crowds who have not succeeded, if

success is only to be reckoned in money. We are unfortunate in that there is so much in America for men to covet. Our greatness is our peril. Because we have much is no reason why we should guard less what we have. We should not be deceived. Human nature unrestrained by patriotism or religion is the same dangerous stuff the world over, and we have not been any too patriotic, nor any too religious. There are signs that the whole body of the people has a serious infection of money-getting. There is a wild passion which does not spend itself in stock markets and which is not too safely centered in the protection of the country nor too alert against the peril of its foes.

Much is said by the agitators about the money-making passion of moneyed people. But the evidences are clear that money is the passion of the poor as well. More things have entered the life of the world that are coveted. More luxuries have been turned into what the average man believes to be necessities. More things have been placed almost within his reach and he reaches out beyond his ability to pay the price, and he demands the price. The larger question of how it is to come is set aside by an insatiable want. It is not true that working people are being goaded on by the legitimate and normal expenses which have arisen far above wage. A comparison of a number of the different forms of employment shows that wages have increased beyond the cost of living and some of them startlingly so.

The unrest of laboring men has its roots in something besides necessity. It is to this spirit of avarice that the agitator makes his successful appeal. We must come back to the old-fashioned and good-fashioned ways of honest, frugal, and temperate living. They were safest for the country and happiest for those who lived them. Men thrived not on making much, but in carefully seeing that nothing was lost and by saving the little things. They adjusted themselves to production and lived within their income and their wage, and had a genuine manhood to make them contented. They magnified law and the rights of men. They were philosophers in the shops and behind the plows. Whether that time can ever be brought back is a question, for inventions, mechanical art, trade in current prices come into the humblest home and start inquiry and ambition in the opening mind of the boy and girl and make demands which call for increased income. But it all leaves the same old moral law which protects every man in his own and gives no man a greater right than his neighbor.

The first question is justice and truth and righteousness. Any remove from these principles born with us in the homes of our fathers is out on slippery paths which end at precipices. When we forget the old home lessons, we begin to trade with our safety and the safety of our country. We do not mean that men may never extend beyond the home life. No country has ever shown that possibility to a

greater degree than ours. But no more startling and appalling lessons are found in any land of the disaster of forgetting the primitive principles of justice, honesty, and the square deal than we have in these United States. All men, the man who works with money and the man who works with his hands, should heed those object lessons which have been strewn along all our pathways. Happy if we are never used for such object lessons.

The course upon which the organized workingman is being launched has shown plainly its fruits. They are dead sea apples. They are mock oranges. Nothing can be so appalling as a land without law. Read the true and exact stories of villages in Russia where law has been repealed. Those are places, the same places, where lives have been snuffed out. They are places where women have learned to murder and where charity has been bartered and indescribable horrors have reigned with the terrors of hell.

No man ever was wise enough to live without civil law, and no man ever was great enough to govern other men, nor lead them, without civil law. A ship were safer at sea without a compass than are men among themselves without moral law. The best remedy for the present rapidly increasing tendencies which threaten the poor man's cottage as they do the rich man's mansion—for the destroyers seek all from both the rich or poor—is to apply the Golden Rule outside of the union and in all things and to

live loyally as freemen the laws of their country, living, letting live, working and letting work, and compelling a place and a success according to the talents which have been given to them.

Freedom is worth a contest. No man should yield it if with it must go manhood. It is something that can take no account of prosecutions or scoffs and jeers. Having its basis in the liberties of his country, he need not ask who beside denies it to him. An American will not transfer his loyalty to any man nor association of men at the price of their influence. That is treason to himself and no man can afford, at any cost or loss, to betray himself. One of the greatest things which this age needs is that men put a price upon themselves. They reckon all things as assets but the greatest of all. That they leave out. It is not what a man has, but what he is. He is not to live his country's freedom, that is its laws, its privileges, its opportunities, provided in its institutions. That is objective. The greatest is the consciousness of what he is within himself. The great apostle was sublime when he faced his accusers with the boast, "I am a citizen of no mean city." It went with him where he went. It was what he was. "You may take me out of my job, but you cannot take me out of myself. You may spurn me, but my name is in the keeping of a higher custodian." Such a man cannot be craven. No argument can appeal to him that does not go to conscience and honor and the centers of manhood. It was that type of man

who laid deep and firm the foundations of our land. They would brave the Atlantic Ocean's storms and take the peril of death on a new and untried shore, but they would not surrender their convictions of right and duty. Every New Englander is proud of his sturdy ancestors, the New Yorkers of their Dutch progenitors. The Virginian boasts his Cavaliers: great lines of descent for a land of free men. It is ours to be worthy of it. We are to know no dictators. The workingman is a free man.

CHAPTER XIV

MY NEIGHBOR HAS A JUST REMEDY

When the workingman of the unions finds himself in violation of law and morals it ought not to take him long to turn around and go the other way. He may say that he has his own opinion of his rights. It does not matter what his opinions may be, he is related to the rights of other men, and this becomes an obligation and he has a duty to the country in which he lives, and must consider these larger claims. The President charges immorality upon an organization of coal miners who choose approaching winter to force their claims for higher wage with the threat of closing the mines against transportation upon which food depends and the comfort of hospitals and homes also. No one who is not crazed by the strike infection will say that the President uses too strong language. The threat cited *is* immoral. The Golden Rule is a prime element in morality. The great question is not what is any man's rights until what is right for all men has first been settled. Nothing can make my right which wrongs my neighbor. The circumstances may so far surpass my right that he would have a claim upon my life, and the law and the highest public sentiment would say that I did my duty in going to

his rescue at the peril of my life. It becomes plain, then, that neither my business nor my wage can endanger his life nor the life of his family. If the coal miners have a just grievance, they must make their appeal for redress in a way that will not starve nor freeze the homes of the people, that will not stop milk trains nor coal trains on the way to infants or the sick in families or in hospitals. And to be indifferent to such consequences is immoral in the extreme. The leaders who encourage it represent a cruel tyranny that is suggestive of distant ages and that is not possible in an age of common morality, and that has for one of its tenets mercy even to dumb animals. We are having only a striking illustration of the immoral principles which have been applied to the treatment of all nonunion men in labor union controversies. The Golden Rule is ignored, it is not so much as mentioned by union men when they seek to force the demands of their organization upon a community, or when they attempt to prevent nonunion men from enjoying the privileges which they claim for themselves. Their whole conduct is immoral. There is not a structure of morality that could stand upon such foundations an hour. It is the Nietzschean morals, which know no self-denial but are founded upon the primitive instincts of the savage. It launched the world into a war against the Christian principles which apply to business, to labor, to individuals, and to nations. It went down in an appalling wreck before the aroused conscience

of mankind. Not a remnant of it should be left in our country, and anything which stands for it should be brought to judgment. It is immoral in that it has not a thread of morality woven into it. The Golden Rule in at least the negative form has had a place among men since the day that Cain killed his brother Abel. Without it there can be no brotherhood. What is the difference whether you slay Abel or leave him to starve and freeze to death? What different is the spirit which would forbid a man to work for his bread for his family unless he works in a way that is against his conscience, his sense of freedom and liberty, by an authority arbitrary, self-assertive, and unrecognized by the Constitution of his country? It is immoral if there is any such thing as morality in the world. It violates and tramples upon all of those principles upon which our land was founded and which brought the Pilgrims to our shores.

But it is not only immoral, it is criminal as well. A man can defy morals often and remain beyond control. Many men are immoral, and known to be so, and unblushingly proclaim their immorality, and remain beyond reach. They ignore the moral law and keep beyond reach of civil or criminal law. But there is a violation of moral and civil law which amounts to a conspiracy. It is a combination of persons to do an evil act, or to do anything against anyone which is punishable by law. Can anything be more evil than to forbid anyone to earn food for

his family by honest labor in a free country? Should anything be more punishable under the law than a combination against business, with threats of violence, with incendiarism and sabotage? And must the state leave unrestrained organizations which are known to foster such things until they commit the act and the damage is done beyond repair?

It is high time that the country pronounced with unmistakable law against strikes of all kinds. (There should be no doubt left that strikes are crimes.) The moral features can be applied by the individual. The conspiracy can be used by the state against all conspirators. It should have been done long ago. Had it been done, we would not now be standing helpless, notwithstanding our injunctions, obeyed by the leaders of an indifferent rank and file of strikers. The conspirator would not be left to roam about defying the government and breeding contempt for law, but would be placed where he would have time to read the Constitution and learn the majesty of the law. Law founded upon morals, and morals making effective law, is the crying need of our country to-day. The Ten Commandments and the Beatitudes, harmonizing in all business and all labor, would constitute a platform upon which both could meet with few difficulties to settle, and none which would not yield without violence to either great interest nor harm to the innocent and to our country. This leads us to arbitration. If men cannot stand upon that platform, there is something wrong, some-

thing dangerous to the country. Where men will not arbitrate, there is distrust of one's cause, or a determination to have the whole. This is why it becomes necessary for arbitration to fix controversies by law. Men should be compelled to accept the verdict of arbitration, as they are to submit to the decisions of the courts, notwithstanding that often one or both sides are dissatisfied. This has been proved by centuries of experience to be the only way for the affairs of men to be safely adjudicated. It means law or force, and force means riot and murder. There is no reason why arbitration may not be arranged upon a basis as secure as the Supreme Court of the State or the Supreme Court of the United States. It should be kept out of politics, and separated from anything like either interest involved. It should be a Court of Arbitration, constituted like the Supreme Court. Its members should be nominated by the President of the United States and approved by the Senate, with a member each from the North, the South, the East, and the West, and an eminent lawyer from the country at large. It ought to be sufficiently representative of the whole country to command the confidence of all concerned. They should be men of eminent character, rather than with special acquaintance with business or labor, for men of common intelligence can weigh evidence, and men of large views have safe horizons. The Court of Arbitration should be like other great courts. Such a court would com-

mand the confidence of the country and the contestants, and it would be but a short time before the strike would be obsolete and we all would wonder that human intelligence was ever so low and human passion ran so high as to give it a place among us. It would be incredible to coming generations that a great and free people ever attempted to settle great judicial questions by the contest of conflicting interests and that men were permitted to deny personal rights to others which they claimed for themselves.

We have been long coming to realize that law must be applied to the labor union as it is to other bodies of men and to other interests. We have tried to dodge the issue, and the more since it reached political proportions. Class legislation has been made for it, and there have been exceptions favoring the unions when laws relating to strikes and boycotts and picketing have been passed. But at last the union leaders themselves have forced a public sentiment against lawlessness which the courts and the administration cannot disregard. This arrogance by union leaders and the general conditions throughout the country call for law, and only law, to determine the rights of men. The people are insisting that no men shall be permitted to take matters into their own hands and determine, by conspiracy or invasion of the rights and property and liberties of other men, their contentions.

In a word, the strike has had its day. The country will pass a law that all strikes and lockouts, ex-

cept against riot, are criminal, and the law will define the crime and make the penalties severe enough to prevent it. Common-sense equity will sustain such a law. It violates every sense of justice that a body of men shall conspire against a business because it hires men who do not belong to its organization, or that men shall be at liberty to assail and maim men who dare to work at given places and times without their permission. One finds it difficult to believe where such things obtain in America that this is any longer a land of free men. How has it gone so far? Why was it not arrested in the first instance? Everyone concedes that a man who is not satisfied with his wage, or with the boss of a job, has a right to quit and find employment elsewhere. But it is another thing when men conspire to take all men off the works at the same hour and set pickets to prevent other men going upon them until the strikers are taken back on their own terms.

Mr. William H. Taft has made an astounding remark about the coal strikers, if reported correctly, at a time when the government needed his voice, and there has been no correction. He says, "The workingmen have a right to organize as much as the employers have that right." No intelligent man has ever denied them that right, but they have no right to organize to prevent me from doing what I prefer to do, nor to interfere with my business. That is the contention. Judge Gary, to whom reference is

made, has not objected to the men of his corporation organizing within their rights, and for purposes of self-government, or the betterment of their condition. He objects, as every sensible man with any self-respect and courage does, to his employees organizing to interfere with his business, to decide what wages it can pay and what men shall come and go with their disturbing labor doctrines among the workingmen employed by the corporation. To say that laborers have a right to organize is wide of the question to-day. Of course they have, if they do not organize to meddle with other men who have as much right not to organize as they have to organize. It is because of conflict of opinion about right that arbitration is indispensable.

Mr. Gompers assails the government and pronounces the injunction of the courts unjust and an invasion of human freedom, and intimates that it will not be obeyed. As to the safety of such leadership in a time of excitement, and as to its loyalty to the government, the public will safely judge. It quickly takes the measure of such a man. But the important thing which bears upon my contention is, Who is to decide the justice or injustice of our laws? A law, right or wrong when the final court has rendered its decision, must be obeyed. If it is right, all loyal citizens will be glad to obey it. If wrong, there is a safe way provided in our economy to remove it or to revise it. If there are inconveniences, these must be endured until regular processes

have provided the remedy. In the mean time the Court of Arbitration is the safest redress for all concerned.

The conditions which have given thoughtful men apprehension and anxiety have developed rapidly toward a state within the state; and unsafe leaders have found such favor in the government and have seen so small resistance to the strike and other forms of violence, that they have presumed upon an authority which they are startled to have even the United States courts resist and rebuke. So deep-seated has become the lawless assumption that it requires a night and half a day to decide that the safe thing will be to obey the law. The indication is very plain that the law would have been defied had there been any hope of success. The statement, therefore, that "We cannot afford to disobey our government" will deceive no one, nor will it cause the country to relax a vigilance to which it has at last awakened, none too soon to preserve the great barriers against our deadliest foes. Should opportunity offer, they would quickly forget all regard for their country at every point of difference where they have always shown their greatest allegiance. With them, related by not too great distances, are those men who promised in the same week destruction of all government, the removal of all lines that mark private property, and the rejection God and religion as useless superstitions.

Whenever a man puts his interests above those

of his neighbor, and refuses to be restrained by law, the steep downward grade of that man's descent is swift and certain. When concessions are made to any man's self-rule it kindles fires that soon pass beyond control. If any law can be defied, if any court order can become a subject for debate, it shows how far a course of conduct has proceeded and how dangerous it is. If it does not pass over into extremest forms of anarchy, it is largely responsible for them. It should not be left to courts with injunction. All such questions should go before the Court of Arbitration, with authority to issue writs and fix penalties.

No class of men can live without law and not corrupt, in time, the whole body politic. Every strike is a blow at the jurisprudence of the whole country and should be resisted, not only for the injury it does to business, but for the harm that comes to a fundamental institution of the country. Things said, like the demagogic utterances of a labor leader who rails at the administration and the courts, are small in comparison with a practice which has increased in defiance of good order and law until it claims recognition everywhere, and boasts that it cannot be stopped by law. If that is true, what would hinder the nonunion men, in vast majority, from striking against the strikers, and wrecking their lodge rooms and running them off the jobs by which they have been denied work? Certainly, any tacit consent or any law which makes the slightest

concession to the strike practice, should be repealed at once unless we are going to allow men to settle their own difficulties by the strike. Are we ready for that sovietism? We have been winking at a form of anarchy in our own country which, carried to its conclusion, is of the same character as the Bolshevism which we abhor. It is not safe because we are strong. If we are not strong enough to prevent its incipiency, we shall not stop its extreme peril when that comes.

We are passing through our lesson. We have had our warning. Our houses of Congress have many weighty things to do to put us back upon the secure platform of the republic, but it has nothing more important than to establish respect for law among all the people. It should insist that all strikes, which have multiplied into hundreds of every kind of contention, shall be replaced by the law in the form of a Court of Arbitration.

One of the great events in our history, one which will take its place among the crises, is the settlement of the coal strike leaders' revolt, by the courts, in a way so decisive, so effectual, and so prompt that it is amazing that it never has been tried before. Atlanta was not inviting to the agitating leaders, and they could figure out for themselves no other destiny. Mr. Gompers proposed to go, but he didn't! It was a force, unexpected, which Mr. Gompers charged to the sickness of the President. He was mistaken. He had not heard the moving in the tops

of the mulberry trees. The whole people had never been imperiled before. They had looked on and seen contractors losing money and laborers denied right of labor as a penalty for not joining the unions. They had seen town housings held up and property destroyed. But these things touched only a few. Now they were face to face with cold and hunger and the paralysis of business everywhere, and it was a public and a general interest. The people were all connected with it, and the people were the country, and at last the lawless tyrants felt the force of the whole people. The petty tyrants, who had domineered and dictated to business, learned for the first time how mighty is law. They could bluster and threaten and tell how the trouble was to be involved and made impossible of adjustment by the mixing in of the courts. They could appeal to justice, which never before had had a place in their vocabulary, and demand rights from a source they always had ignored. And then they could whimper and plead abuse of privileges as American citizens! But the courts proceeded with quiet dignity, backed by an hundred million people. And they obeyed! There was nothing else for them to do. They were not contending with strike-breakers. They were not resisting sympathetic police. They were not encouraged by an apologetic press. They were not invited into compromising conferences. The law spoke, and they obeyed. They were dealing with the law and the law courts. All of which shows

that a Court of Arbitration—the law—is the way to settle strikes.

The wail of the petty tyrants was that the government had joined the plutocrats to ruin the unions. But the government had joined nobody but the whole people and it was by no means to ruin the unions. If protection of the people, or any class of the people, will ruin the unions, then they ought to be ruined. Nothing has a right to thrive at the expense of the rights and safety of the government, nor by the embarrassment and loss of citizens with equal rights. Nothing has done the unions so much harm as the claim by their leaders of a superior privilege which puts them beyond restrictive legislation and the mandates of the courts. This is not a country of government by injunction when it applies to the union! This is not a government of democracy when it protects a nonunion man in his work! It is right and just only so long as it obeys the behests of a class, a minority class, and gives it right of way over every other class. This was what was ruining the unions. An autocracy under the dictation of a most oppressive autocrat was reaching out for control of business and of all labor, even the forms which were nonunion. That was what made the unions unpopular until the people were ready to arise against them and the government reminded them of a restraining law. It was "horrible," in the language of their chief autocrat, to find that anything so profane and unholy as an injunction could apply to an

organization which had asserted its tyranny unchallenged so long that the general government concerning all labor matters existed by the leave of the federation from whose leaders the President and the lawmakers had been taking orders most subserviently. One or the other must go—the government or the union. It was well for the union that it decided to go. With a new set of officers to replace those who have discredited themselves, who boasted their willingness to go to prison in defiance of law, the unions will take a new and respected place. It is not the desire of anyone to destroy and remove the unions, if they will cease their work of destruction and serve their country by the elevation of labor and by universal justice and fairness toward all laborers. We only want to know whether they purpose to be a part of the country, or to continue to control the country. Is the belated utterance of one of their leaders, "Our country," something new, to become the common and familiar sentiment of all union members, and is the attack upon the government by Mr. Gompers to be repudiated by the federation? If so, it will do much to restore labor unions in the confidence and esteem of American citizens who place their Constitution and equal liberty to all men before every other consideration.

The only desire of those who have long protested the disloyalty and intolerance, the arrogance and unfairness of the union, has been to place it under law and bring it to an appreciation of the fact that it by

no means represents the workingmen of this country. They want the strike made criminal, whoever uses it. But they want so to plan it with a great court which, influenced by no consideration but justice and right, will protect all men—the union miner protesting his low wage and the coal employer with his side of production and just profit; the steel workingman protesting his grievances and the employer his right to direct his own business or the business of his corporation; the union man on the job and the non-union man's right to go on any job; and the contractor's right to efficiency and an honest day's labor.

We find no unfair spirit toward the unions, nor desire to use law to destroy them. Arbitration makes no pronouncement against the right of men to organize, but it proposes to examine the purposes of an organization and the uses which are being made of it. It will not say that a man shall not quit a job when he pleases. That is as much his right as it is for him to begin to work when hired. It is an inalienable right deeper than statutes. But it will inquire as to why the employer may not decide when his services are no longer wanted, and also as to whether the act of his dismissal is arbitrary and unjust, as has often happened by the act of some unfit boss or foreman. Arbitration will hear and settle protests of a whole body of men which heretofore has resorted to strikes endangering life and property and costing our country untold millions of money in wages and products. Such disputes are now settled

by a test of endurance and the greater loss and embarrassment which can be inflicted. That always is attended by deep resentment and it displaces calm judgment and the capability of seeing the other's cause. Men never have been capable of settling personal controversy when anger and passionate strife enter into the contention. The attempt often has resulted in life enmity or in revenge by incendiarism and murder—the very principles of the strike. Such a condition should not be allowed as a right and privilege by American citizens. It strikes at the whole public and is a menace to any community when it is permitted. The law of arbitration should not be used in the case of labor unions only, but it should be a general law to take the place of all strikes of every kind.

Those who object to the present form of the labor union simply insist that it shall come under law, and that its acts shall be altogether lawful, and that it shall use nothing against the nonunion man nor business which is not lawful; that its leaders shall respect our laws and obey them and not oppose them nor defy them. We insist that the union shall be ruled, not by an oligarchy of aliens, but that they shall be ruled by the United States.

A New Year's letter of Samuel Gompers shows how blinded a man may become by the persistent pursuit of violated law and privilege. He says that "American workers stand ready to do their full duty as American citizens." Mr. Gompers is speak-

ing for a minority of American workers. He is not representing the nonunion workers. And Mr. Gompers has forgotten that it is not a month since he said that if the government passed certain laws—and it doubtless will pass them—he "would not obey them." Mr. Gompers said in his letter, "As citizens, we are true to the American ideal of equal opportunity for all." Does that mean the nonunion man? Is he one of the "all"? Or are the union men the "all" who shall enjoy equal opportunity of labor? Mr. Gompers tells us in his letter he "has found it necessary to fight agencies that sought to establish special privileges"! "Those fights have been to assure to wage-earners the rights and opportunities that all should possess." Have the fights been for all laborers, or only for union men's "special privileges"? This champion of human freedom —when it is union organized—tells us further that "the great struggle has been to assure workers in their industrial relations the rights of free citizens." That is a narrow concept of American freedom. Ours is a freedom which contemplates every citizen who obeys the law, both union and nonunion, laborer and capitalist. And any militant struggle against any of our citizens to secure benefits to other citizens is against the law and should be forbidden. No man has any right to lead in any such contest. That leaves him to be the legislator, the court, the executive and the militant commander, all of which Mr. Gompers has long assumed to be! I make one

more quotation from the famous New Year's greeting, which contains more fallacies than I ever saw in five paragraphs: "The immediate problem of the world is to develop a production organization that will benefit directly those who are the real producers and serve the needs of starving nations." Why an organization, why not all men? "The real producers" are the men who put their money into factories and shops and machines, and who hire men and women to "develop production." These are the real producers—the man with the money; the man with his day labor for which he is paid. The man with the money and business sagacity and risk of loss must be paid out of the profits. He consents to pay the workingman first.

CHAPTER XV

MY NEIGHBOR'S EMPLOYER

THERE are at least two distinct responsibilities where two men or two kinds of employments meet. There is one humanity, and one Golden Rule, always as fundamental obligations, and nothing exempts nor removes them. But the laborer cannot displace the employer, nor can the employer take the place of the laborer except where the work of both can be done by the same person. Collective bargaining is a loosely jointed formula if applied only to the interests of one side of a controversy which uses it and at once gets into trouble with the side which it opposes and attempts to control. It is not a happy phrase, and has made no small mischief. The employer has the initiative and represents the housing, the machines, and the material to pass into products. The workman also comes into his purview in a large way. The laborer has his skill, his brawn, his health, the sustenance and comfort of himself and family, the savings against the rainy day, and the social and religious life, and the civil and domestic economy of his town, all as problems of his employment. These must all be considered when he takes up the question of where and for whom he shall work. The workingman must settle these propositions care-

fully. It is not simply a question of the ability of the employer to pay, but of all the conditions that insure permanent and safe employment. It is unwise to leave these matters to be settled afterward by collective bargaining. A disinclination to work under given conditions is a strong corrective of careless employers. It is rather late in the world's history for the laborer's time to be spent upon correcting wrong appointments of factories, such as bad sanitation, heat and light, or readjustment of wage. A direct pressure is in the silent, unprotesting absence from that plant of efficient workers. The same privilege is reserved to the employer quietly to exclude the inefficient from his shops. This is all the right which is established by themselves between the employer and the employee. It is subject to withdrawal of either or of both.

A laborer cannot take out of his employer's business more than is in it, and when he takes out his weekly wage he leaves in that business the risk of loss and the depreciation which his discontent and insistence upon larger pay creates. All turns upon what the business is making. It has no other source of revenue. It cannot anticipate nor draw back from the reserve of past years. What is the product by the workers and what the demand for that product? Every laborer has a very direct and contract relation to the market, and it is not possible to read the market offhand. That is the problem for the employer. It is his job. The workingman is

really employed by the market. What does the world want? It would be foolish to work on shoes if there were no demand for shoes, or on clothes if there were no demand for woolens nor dress goods.

Upon my neighbor the workingman is placed as much as upon the employer the products demanded by mankind. If they are not produced and men want them, the prices become prohibitive. If they are produced, they sometimes become a drug in the market. The workingman sometimes appears to think that business is made arbitrarily; and if it is not made, it ought to be taken over by someone who can produce it and make it pay wages. It is true that sometimes faulty methods of distribution and sales have to be corrected, for the fault is not with overproduction but with under sales and bad management. But it remains just the same problem of taking out only what is put into the business by the employer and the employee, and the world has the determination of all that. Every workingman is working for the public, and he has more than he may imagine the making of the public demands. The present conditions of limited production and high prices have been brought about very largely by shortened hours and repeated increase of wages. It may not have been too much wage—that is for the public to say—for it becomes a question as to whether the people can afford it, and the public is not something apart from the wage-earners. They are foolish if they think that they are receiving something from

capital and from those who can afford to pay. The laborer must help pay the tax of the high cost of living which he creates. If as the result of his short hours and high pay it costs more to build in a community, he must pay more to build his cottage. Material is forced up and he must take a per cent out of his pay envelope to buy this material. If wages are doubled on the farm, as they have been, he must pay more for milk and potatoes and eggs and poultry, for it costs more to raise grain and vegetables and corn for stock. When the city workingman doubles his pay he at once doubles the pay of the farm hand and becomes a purchaser of farm produce as one of the public, at an increased price. He cannot escape. The folly of the Bolsheviki is that they imagine that they are a separate class and make a new economic law. The old law remains. Take out the labor and you take out the product; increase the pay of labor and you add to the price of the product. You can keep it going until it becomes prohibitive. The manufacturer goes no further than the demand goes, and the demand stops when the people cannot afford the article. They will substitute something less expensive, or do without it when possible. It is plain enough, therefore, in the final analysis, that the workingman's employer is the public and that he is a part of the public. Public spirit becomes a self-protective spirit. What promotes the public good and offers attractions to business is of first and most direct concern to the man who works

with his hands. Every store and every shop depends upon the ability of men and women in the town to buy. This is what makes prosperous labor conditions. It is not something arbitrary for which capitalists and employers are responsible. It is a law of cause and effect, as certain and dependable as the law which governs the tides of the sea or the movements of the stars. Men may disregard it, but they will find that its court is always in session, and its penalties are sure. There are no suspended sentences. What is done has its sequences, and they will be of its kind and time. What men do in labor has far and exact consequences.

Intelligent employers, feeling the force of this, have tried every expedient to conserve labor and secure to it contentment with an adequate wage. One of the experiments has been profit-sharing. In this way it has been thought that the workingman could be made to feel a responsibility for the business, and work as a silent partner. The theory contains a high ideal, but it is based upon a presumption which does not obtain among workingmen. Such a scheme cannot be made practical with exceptions. It must be general. It must comprehend the whole crew, the entire body of laborers.

The two fields of business management and labor efficiency are widely different. The laborer is not patient of the slower processes. If the business can pay a profit at the end of a year, it must pay me increased wage, or I go, he says. And if I am

to share in profits, am I not to share in losses? That I cannot afford on my income. I cannot wait for the profits of one year with another to balance the account in making the totals. The plan has not contributed essential harmony and become general in the businesses of the country and we believe never will be. There are instances where enthusiastic claims are set up for the plan, but they are in cases where conditions are exceptional, such as skilled manufacture which eliminates hand labor largely and takes in a form of skilled artisanship. In one of these great establishments where the plan has been in operation for a long time it is admitted by the management that a large per cent of the employees are college graduates. This shows an exceptional condition which would furnish no guide to ordinary forms of labor. Workingmen are not college educated. They are not technically educated. Many of them are highly intelligent and proficient in their chosen calling. The firm to which I have referred is employing more than workingmen. The men who go to work there are putting in something more than hand labor. They are putting in that which cost them thousands of dollars in money and in preparatory time, and they should expect and have more than weekly wages.

A plan which might apply to such quality of work would be difficult to adjust to manual labor strictly and exclusively. Men should take away what they bring to the job, and no more. That would be for

the workingman what his labor is worth in the market of workers. His employer represents other values—intellectual capacity, influence and confidence among owners, power to employ and to secure from workingmen their money value in the products of labor. He is the man who went out and found the contract and began to work for a profit after reckoning material and labor. He is the man who gave his bond and ventured all his savings. The workingmen did not do it. They could not take a contract. They could work on it and nothing more.

There is something due the employer, therefore, something more than four dollars of work value, the price of a day's work. The laborer owes a certain value in dependableness. A contract is made to deliver a building in a certain time, or to pay a forfeit. There is a contract, actual or implied, with carpenters and masons, tenders and handy men. These men are in honor bound to their employer if he is to them. If they are not to be, he cannot begin a contract. The man who furnishes lumber, the hardware man, the cement man, cannot put up prices from week to week arbitrarily without regard to agreed contracts.

Collective bargaining is not bargaining. It is all one-sided if it may be set aside and ignored whenever a union decides to insist upon higher wages. "Collective" means more than one party. It is as much in the interest of the workingman as it is to the interest of the employer that there be stable

conditions, and the compelling force should be the stability of employment. It goes without saying that the man coming to a job must bring two hands and two feet, and that he must have common intelligence if he is to assert any claim upon the employer. But it should be equally true that he must bring sobriety and common honesty. He must keep his contract with his employer. The employer hires a contented man. He is there presumably because he wants to be. He would rather be there than in any other place. He need not have come if he did not like the wage. He is a dishonest man who takes advantage of a place on a contract job to sow discontent among his fellow workmen and, if possible, disrupt the crew. The agitator often begins this way. Most of the strikes begin by betrayal of the employer. The collective bargaining is not with the employer, but against the employer. The peculiar state of mind of the labor agitator has been illustrated in recent pronouncement of the federation against government meddling with labor unions. It brings out fully the perverted thought of independence of employer, of the public, and of the constituted authority of the land upon the part of the labor unions. The avowed claim is made that they are free men! Free men to dictate prudence on their own terms and to deny it to whom they will. A recent utterance charges the government with encroaching upon the rights of workers! What workers? The nonunion workers? Another outcry is

that it is "time to call a halt upon oppression of workers by the courts." Why is it worse for the courts to oppress workers than it is for workers to oppress workers? Have not union workers been oppressing nonunion workers for a full generation? Are such men likely to be heard or heeded when they whimper about the oppression of the courts which are restraining them from oppressing the whole country with their immoral and criminal strikes?

Again the federation council speaks: "Men born free will not long suffer tyranny or deprivation of natural liberty in whatever form, without determined resistance." That is a pronouncement which we have long waited from union authority. Men born free, without restraint of a self-constituted authority, have a right to work where and for whom they choose for their own agreed wage, and no man has a right to interfere with them. If he does, he will be met with determined resistance!

The convention which so vehemently resists court injunctions applied to union strikes and never resents injunctions against corporations, declares that: "Treason should be defined to include willful violation by any public official of any constitutional right of a citizen." Why by an official of the government any more than by an official of the federated unions! If anything is made to appear it is that the time-honored injunction, which is one of the most common forms of restraining government in all enlight-

ened lands, has been delayed in this land altogether too long. Why should a body of men under any pretense or claim be permitted to violate any constitutional right of any citizen? and why should such violators defy the restraints of the government which keeps them simply within their lawful bounds and protects individual and public interests from the oppression of their tyranny?

At last the government has come in as an employer. It has too long left the oppressed individual worker to fight his unequal battle. But when the government came to run railways and to appreciate that the railways must have coal, it appreciated what it was to be an employer. And when the union took Uncle Sam for an employer and attempted to run its strikes, it ran against what has been used against defiant offenders from the beginning of the government. It is profoundly to be hoped that the same law will enforce the right of the individual and the entire public whenever a conspiracy by tyrants attempts to oppress the people or even one of the people.

Mr. Lincoln said that we could not remain half free and half slave. That is our condition in labor now; one half free to work as it pleases and to dictate terms to employers and contend against law, and the other half slaves to the first half to work only when permitted and to be hunted and hounded about from job to job and forbidden to work entirely, if possible. The two cannot remain in this

divided way, and the whole must be altogether free.

No body of men have any corporate or associated right in our country to become inimical to any public interest or to the perfect freedom of any person or any other body of our citizens protected in their rights under our Constitution. That men may refuse to work for any employer under any conditions which they may set up, no one will deny. If their patriotism falls so low and their self-interest so far disregards the Golden Rule, they can, of course, retire within themselves as a mud turtle pulls its head into its shell. But they cannot, in free America, deny the rights of other men to enjoy the privileges which they claim for themselves. We cannot insist upon this too often nor urge it too earnestly.

Labor is not simply for wages. It is not only to sustain the life of the laborer and his family; it is to enter into the improvement and development of the country and to add to the advantages in the future of himself and his associates. It is a short-sighted mistake to think that the results of labor are carried away by the man who pays the wage. It is only the gambler who carries away what he gets and leaves nothing. What the workingman builds remains—a road, a dwelling, a commercial or an educational building. If a factory, it adds more business; if a dam, it supplies water power; if an electric plant, it furnishes light. A man pointed to a great structure,

the pride of his city, and said, "I helped build that." He felt that by so much he was a public benefactor. Mechanics have often said to me, "I worked on your great buildings of the University up on the Hill." They had just pride in their work and I always met them afterward with a different interest. They seemed to me to have had an important part with our patrons in making possible the presence of thousands of students in the University halls. They were in a way founders of the institution. It is in this way that the community looks upon its honest and efficient workingmen. It has pride in them.

The calamity which has fallen upon American labor is the separation between the workingman and the employer. It has been brought about by an organization which has been taught that the employer is seeking to rob the laborer of his hire, that he cares only for what he can get out of his contract, and this results in a defensive feeling upon the part of the employer and you have two men of the same flesh and blood, whose interests should be common, in sharp antagonism. The builders' associations and the labor unions are playing points upon each other when they should be promoting each other's interests, because they have a common cause. The failure of either hurts both. They should be so identical that the thinnest wedge of the agitator could not be inserted between them. No man should stand between the men and their employer. The man who does always makes mischief. He is

preaching discontent, and it does not stop with wages. It reaches out into the business. It attacks the conditions of society and begins propaganda of a new economic and social order. It attacks the church and the nation, and you see a caste created, and the workingman, for the first time, comes to believe that he is oppressed and that courts are a tyranny and that the government ought to be overthrown. The curse of the workingman is the man whom he has let in between him and his employer, the mischief meddler whom he has let in to set up his notions from collective bargaining to strikes. The country has paid nearly three hundred millions for the meddlers' steel strike besides millions of lost wages of men who were being paid more wages than college professors and preachers were receiving. There have been no differences between intelligent workers and their employers which would not have been settled if they had been left to the workers and the employers. No one will contend that the employer has always been just, and it is equally true that the worker has not been faultless. Often he was drunk on the job; and, if not, he often was surly and quarrelsome, or shiftless and lazy. There were two sides.

As a rule, the employer is the workingman's best friend. The go-between is not an altruist and an unselfish friend of the laborer. In nearly every instance he was a malcontent and in some conspicuous cases had served his country behind grated windows.

Their taste of the law was so bitter that they never have liked the taste of it since, as is shown by their references to it even under the restraint of prudence. Such men offer their services to the unions only when and because they find it possible to arouse discontent. They complain of employers, whom they call capitalists, and secure a following by flattering the workingman by preaching the doctrine that were he given what belongs to him he would have what the rich have, and the rich would have nothing. The meddler makes it appear that if the laborers will organize and assess a moderate fee and meet the expense, legislation can be influenced and the employer can be forced to pay a large wage and the workingman will control the situation. If you will study the situation, you will find that here is where the laborer and the employer got into cross-purposes and the labor chiefs have found their fat pickings. They live on the fat of the land whichever way the fight goes. The employer is represented as an agent of the plutocrat, and human society and human government are grinding the toilers and forcing upon them poverty. The agitators claim to be the only unselfish friends of the workingman. The only test of this would be to withhold the fat salaries of the chiefs and the pay of the loafing walking delegates. It would be interesting to uncover the startling loss to the workingman by the agitators' strikes in a period of twenty-five or thirty years. It amounts to billions of dollars.

The employer to-day has to figure every contract by putting the corps of labor officials and agitators into it. If he had to reckon only with his workmen, he would be surer of his profit, the men of their wage, and there would be more jobs. It is the hundreds of thousands of dollars of the workingman's wages that are going into the high living and high travel of a useless corps of mischief makers, men who have done more to hinder and embarrass labor than all the other obstacles combined with which it has had to contend. Clear out the whole crowd. Use the union for mutual improvement and social entertainment on the plan of mutual benefits, as the Masons and Odd Fellows use their lodges, and keep the fees within the town where they are earned, for the health insurance of the members, greet every workingman as a neighbor and friend, and talk face to face with the employer and not behind his back in a union, about him, and in a decade the improved conditions of labor and capital will astonish the world.

It is a prodigious mistake for the workingmen to withdraw themselves from their employer and from the public and make a class of themselves. It is, on the face of it, a confession of inferiority, like a body of men who cannot stand upon their own merit but must stand in a threatening attitude, squared to fight. Strong men do not do that. That is something inculcated by an alien interpretation of our liberties and the defense of our rights. For a gen-

eration the unfortunate leadership of union labor has been putting our sturdy, rugged citizens into a belligerent mood. Such leadership is absolutely an unmitigated curse to this free land. Americans should never consent to be led by such alien leadership. It is unsound and unsafe. It does not confine itself to bettering the conditions of workingmen. It is a political propaganda. To hold its place it must constantly agitate. We shall have no peace nor established order until the misguided victims of these insinuating meddlers arise to the dignity and patriotism of American citizens. They are not serfs. They are not oppressed. They are not downtrodden. The employers are on equal terms of citizenship with them and the law makes no difference between them. The rich build hospitals and schools, not for themselves, but equally for the poor. There is no favored class, unless it is the man who finds it in a land where he can use his opportunity with what he has. The banks are not hoarding the money of the rich, but protecting the money of the workingman also. It is a crime, a treasonable crime, for any man to seek to excite envy, discontent, and a class spirit in our glorious republic, which offers opportunity to every man up to the measure of his ability to use it. It is not our crime. It is an imported crime. It is not indigenous. It finds a foothold here only because of our mixed and cross-bred and un-American conditions. It does not thrive with Americanism.

CHAPTER XVI

MY NEIGHBOR'S FRIENDS AND FOES

SEVERE criticisms are not always aimed at men, but oftener at measures. If the labor union has fallen into disfavor, those who condemn it are not seeking to destroy it, but to correct it and make it serve both its members and the country. Any privilege claimed by any body of men must not only be based upon what it is to do for those who claim it, but as much upon its service to all men. If it helps those who use it and injures any others who are outside its membership, the case against it is plain enough. A widely extended sentiment has been created against the order by labor unionists and especially by those who use it against the liberty of other men. It is not a prejudice. It is a conviction forced by the effect of the union upon business and upon labor. If it is claimed that its object is to promote the interests of the workingman, we are met by the fact that it seeks the good of only a small per cent of the laborers. More than four times its membership it opposes. It is not an answer that these might join the union. They have a right to determine that question themselves. They demand the liberty of private and personal judgment. That is more important than all other considerations.

That is where manhood differentiates and its freedom begins. In this country that is the first question asked. Men are justly and fortunately sensitive upon matters of their personal choice and liberty. The objections to the union are not from the politician with low and small ambitions and personal ends to serve. It is a plain case of judging by the fruits which are borne on the tree. If a different quality of fruit suited to all is grafted into that tree, there will be no longer contention and opposition. The unionists cannot begin too soon that process of engrafting. If I have a religion, it must be for everybody. If I have politics, it must be for the whole country. If I have a business, it must oppose no other business except by fair competition. If I have a union, it must injure no one. That is the test. It is twofold: it must do no harm and it should do good. In any event it must do no harm to anyone. It must proceed upon the principle of equal rights to all men. It will not answer objections to say that selfish men want to destroy my organization because it protects me from their unjust and cruel designs. While I am protecting myself what am I doing to others?

The opponents of the union as it has come to be are the best friends of the union workingman. They are championing the rights of the nonunion man. It is not a spirit of anger and blind prejudice, it is a spirit of loyalty to all men. The worst enemy of the union workingman is the leader or controlling

member who urges the thought that the criticisms against their organization are by men who wish to destroy it. That covers defects which ought to be seen and corrected. The American spirit in the union should have founded it upon the constitution of our country and prevented those things which have been harmful and destructive. The union should look within itself for its foes. They are alien to American institutions. They are men who have never come in sympathetic touch with our fundamentals of government. It is a strange and startling thing that the American republic is a failure, and that our workingmen are to unlearn its lessons and substitute for the courts and executives, and lawful good order, strikes, sabotage, and personal abuse and riot. It is a startling voice which we hear declaiming against the injunction of conspiracy and in threats of revolution by violence against a government which for one hundred and forty years has stood firmly upon defense of all oppressed both rich and poor. It is a strange new plan of government which is coming to use government for the few and to overthrow by violence the many who oppose the riotous few. Our union friends who think we are their enemies will do well to inquire where their friendship is going and if their country may not be greater than their union. Do they consider what it means to take for their guides and champions men who are enemies of their country, men in some cases who have faced the

charge of personal crime and have looked out through prison bars for conspiracy against the freest land on the earth? These are not friends. They are enemies. "Faithful are the wounds of a friend." The deceivers who have posed for years as the champions of labor persist in the slanderous lies that men who furnish money to make jobs possible and the employers who select workingmen for the jobs and all who oppose the fatal principles of the unions are all enemies of the laboring man. So far from this having a shred of truth in it, they all are friends of the workingman and have every reason to be his friends. They are asking nothing from him for which they do not give an equivalent.

What do their leaders give? And what do all such men do? Is there ever trouble and contention which they do not promote and prolong as far as possible? Their dupes are left to go the limit and pay the bills. Some day the workingman will discover his real and unselfish friends.

No man is a friend of the laborers who attempts to make of them a class, who speaks of them as the laboring class. In this country men are not divided into classes. We have no lower and upper classes except morally, and that is within every man's determination. Men who come here from countries where there are caste classes and appeal to our working citizens to throw off the yoke of the oppressor and resist a tyrannical government show how dense is their ignorance of our Constitution,

laws, and customs. While our churches open their doors to the English Bible and our little red schoolhouses stand on the hilltops of our country roads, and at twenty-one years of age our young men and women have the ballot, you cannot make classes of the American people. Caste classes are not broken through and equalized. The American is held to none. The long-persecuted Jew knows no such restraint. In minorities of a republic where there is a ballot he reaches positions of great eminence and of great wealth. The American is conscious of his citizenship. If changes are needed, he does not need to change. He holds in his hand the power to make the change. His danger is that he will overassert his independence and resent what he imagines is patronage. Pity that he does not resent the implied weakness in the suggestion of oppression and slavery with which he is held up for sympathy in all contested questions of wage and labor privileges.

It would help our universal manhood if all intimations of class were instantly resented as offensively slanderous. Those who come among us from alien countries should be shown at once that such things are unknown to us. Men choose their stations in life here. If there is any trouble, it is that sometimes they are too free to show their independence. Men are most independent who say the least about it. Altruism is the chief element in genuine independence. If a man will have friends, he must be friendly, and not simply where there is personal

gain by exchange, but upon the broader principles of humanity.

One of the secrets of American independence is in the fact that we are a working people. A man is a man for all of that. The leisurely people are the aged. The rich are the most active among us. It is, therefore, difficult to lead the laborer "to the manner born" into class hate. "It is only a generation from shirt sleeves to shirt sleeves." The man who condemns strikes and boycotts is willing to show his hands. His experiences lead from his father's New England farm to the farthest Western ranch. He knows stagedriving and steamboating. He has gone through all the experiences of the workingman. This is true of the capitalists: few of them who have not been on the farms and in the mills and factories. It sounds strange to them when they hear the radicals picturing the plutocrat's indifference to the downtrodden workers. Some of us who are branded as aristocrats recall with peculiar pleasure our boyhood homes where luxuries created a sensation, but where frugal and temperate habits were a constant joy and are a sacred memory. Thought turns often to the old house beneath the elms, and the eyes moisten as memory reproduces the familiar faces and scenes of those far-off days when all pennies were counted and such a thing as envy was unknown. Those people made a great country. The richest products of it were the mighty men born in the homes of the heroic and noble poor.

One year compared with another and what was short in one was made up in the next. Neighbors were friends with a common bond. What concerned one was the estate of all. There is something greater than wage. All men must have wages to be sure, whatever the calling, but the man who has only a wage is the poor man of the community. Friendship is the greatest asset. It is always current. It is fatal to a community where men are taught to get along without it. Money cannot replace it.

In the early days our country was rich in a common bond. We were of one kind. We had what we had made in government and home and business and begrudged no man his opportunity. There was a sharp sentiment against men who did not make the most of themselves. There is nothing greater than the earnest development of oneself with what one has. But that is vastly different from the passion for gain. To develop oneself is greater than to increase one's bank account. In our strange time there does not seem to be much difference in the money passion between the workingman and the capitalist, but the effect upon the country favors the capitalist. His accumulations and profits result in more products. They are turned over in increased business, and more factories go up and more men are employed and the price of goods is decreased because there are more of them. But when the workingman carries his demand beyond a point justi-

fied by the demand for products, he increases the cost of the article, and that means the high cost of living. And this is singularly so when to the higher cost of production is the lessened production by discontented and indifferent and inefficient labor. There is a demand put upon manufacture which reacts upon the man when he forces higher wage. It is here that the laborer is his own worst enemy. The public teacher who shows him the folly of constant insistence upon higher wage when it can only be secured by the strike is his best friend. It may be said that a given business pays an enormous profit out of proportion to the wages paid, but there are great losses also, and some of them made by the success of the business which furnished employment to the workingman, and these losses are not shared by the wage-earners. I cannot see that the industrial fault is all with the capitalist. Both the employer and the employee seem to be equally intent upon the mighty dollar. The plea is made that with the employee it means food and clothes. But that is not the gauge set. It passes far beyond that, and the day laborer is favored both by large wage and comparatively small expense. All are glad to see high wages paid if the business in one year with another can pay it, but the protection of the country, the prosperity of business, the sources of income to all must be carefully studied. It is not a grab game. Sound philosophy is not the devil for the hindmost, but for every man a fair chance.

Since I began this chapter I see in the public press that the State Federation of New York has declared for some decided changes in the unions, namely, "the elimination of industrial and social disturbances from labor unions of the State, the deposing of union leaders whose policies are radical, and the Americanizing of the entire federation by forcing those within its membership to become citizens of the United States and by swearing the entire body to allegiance to the government."

This is exceedingly gratifying. It is a wholesome symptom in a disease that has had a long run. Whether it means a cure remains to be seen. It is a confession in a diagnosis of all the essential things which I have charged. The union has been the worst enemy of the laboring man. It has been and is conspicuous for its industrial disturbers. Its leaders, including Mr. Gompers and others prominent in union councils, have been often reported as radicals, going to the extreme of defying law and declaring that they would not obey certain proposed laws if enacted by Congress. It is time that they were sworn to allegiance to the government. The swearing should be begun with the leaders.

But how much does the "elimination of industrial and social disturbers from labor unions" mean? Are we to understand that union men are no longer to be permitted to interfere with institutions and forms of business which refuse to unionize? that the walking delegate will not be sent around to spy upon

the men who are on the job and drive them off because nonunion men are working on that job? That has been one of the worst kinds of "industrial disturbance." It will be a great day for the union when it fraternizes with all workingmen and justifies itself by peaceful methods and by a superior quality of workmanship. And will the "elimination of social disturbers" go to the limit of common courtesy with nonunion men, so that, for instance, we shall hear no more loathsome and degrading epithets from man to man and woman to woman and child to child? The man who accomplishes all of this will be the reformer of the unions, whose name will be a blaze of glory a century after the disturbing meteor has fallen below his narrow horizon in ashes.

The world never needed more than now all its workers, and any plan or organization which refuses to permit them to answer to this demand puts itself across the track of human progress like a bowlder which has fallen out of its uncertain place in the gravel and sands of the hillside. It would be impossible to compute the damage to civilization, and especially to America as a people, by a scheme which has put an arbitrary limit upon labor, scaling it down not to the demands of progress and necessity, but to the narrow and selfish notions of an arbitrary competition. The plan of our foundations, upon which we were building our land and country, called for all men and women who could work. It was a plan to build a new free country

and not to originate a class of industrial dictators and tyrants. It opened the doors to every man to learn the trade he chose to follow. It was a plan to set everybody to work, for everybody was needed, and not to select the few and favored to control industries. There never has been a time when all have not been needed. The appeal now for workers all over the country is not to be traced to the dead and maimed of the war. That would not have made a perceptible impression in a land of such a rapidly increasing population. The trouble with us is that the labor unions have been opposed to increase of workers. The young men have been shut out of apprenticeships, as I have shown, and the workingman, the plain mechanic, has felt no stimulus and ambition to make the most of himself. How could anything worse have been done to discourage labor and disqualify the mechanic, once the pride of the country? It is now a constant lesson that the chief end of labor was higher wages. Everything has yielded to this until it holds up the capitalist as a grinding enemy and also attacks the nonunion man who sees his employer's side of the controversy as an enemy. In a period of the greatest demand and opportunity the workingman is made the proponent of our greatest difficulties and the enemy of our prosperity. If we can get rid of this opposition, we can go on again. It is strange, an amazing fact, that the enemy of labor is the laborer. In his short-sightedness he has gone on blindly obstructing

progress. He has adopted crude theories by men conspicuously incompetent to lead, until the workable theory for which he has stood for years has produced its results in a burdensome cost account which has moved up with the equal pace of his wages and has been as much more disastrous as his tyrannical control has limited the number of hours with pay and a half and double pay. At last a small light dawns on the eastern horizon, which we hope is the sunrise coming. We hope that it is not an arctic sunrise which will disappear on a cold and cheerless horizon as soon as it appears. Our hope is enlarged and strengthened because we believe that it is the promise of an awakening people. The country is getting its eyes open. The question is going around as to whether our broad land is to be intimidated by an oligarchy of aliens in control of our houses of Congress with the Gompers and Fosters and Lewises writing the party platforms of our Presidential candidates. When the American people wake up they will make short work of a common foe. They will not leave enough of it to offer in barter between political parties. I predict that the discoveries which have been brought to the surface in the perilous coal strike closing our industries and threatening thousands of lives will make it impossible for any political party to take up the outcast leaders condemned by the whole people as enemies of humanity. We condemn ourselves, we challenge our capacity for self-government when we permit rats

to gnaw themselves into our Constitution and make their nests there and claim that they are a legitimate and lawful part of our national household. The present conditions in the high cost of living, in the paralysis of building by cost of material and labor, are not due to any usual law of supply and demand but to propaganda which has been going on for a generation by men who have no interest in the country, nor in the laborers, but who are using the unions and dictating the statutes for their own selfish ends. It is a fruitful field. The appeal is in the realm of exaggeration. The contrasts are drawn between rich and poor, between capital and labor. It is not the workingman who is the propagandist, it is the socialist leader who offers his services to the downtrodden laborer and takes his fat salary from the union fees. It is easier to be a walking delegate, to be a federation leader or chief, than to work in a union at the bench or in a mill or factory. The workingman has been hoodwinked and fooled constantly and easily by men who pretend to be his friends, and who are his worst enemies. The more unions the more salaries, the more wages the bigger fees for the leaders. There never have been richer pickings for the ignorant and ranting demagogues. It is a marvelous scheme for those who work it. It is remarkable that the intelligent mechanics of the United States fall such easy dupes to it. It is the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow which the child chases. It is the

search for fabled buried treasures. There has been no employment, nor wage, nor condition which would not have come to merit without suspicion and contention.

Any platform built outside the Constitution is built on sands. Any philosophy of economics which does not include all men on equal terms will inevitably clash with our institutions of personal freedom and in time must go down in hopeless wreck. It is folly to plan a revision of our fundamental laws to meet something which conflicts with common fairness among men, which opposes the square deal preached by Roosevelt. Our founders did not set up a government for a class and much less for a minority class. Every man who qualifies as a citizen and pays his tax, however small, has an indisputable claim upon all the rights and privileges of any man under the government. One of these primal rights is his privilege to earn his own living by honest labor, and no man has a right to hinder him. To hinder and prevent him is the act of a highwayman. But the laborer is more than caring for his own life —that is a primary object. He is a citizen of the republic. He belongs to the public. He and his employer and the men who furnish the capital and their friends are the public. There is no other public. When, therefore, any agitators come in to take away this man's privilege and make difficult his earnings, they injure the whole public and should be made to settle with it. As a people we often do

not appreciate the relation of individual rights to the government as a whole. Neglect lies in carelessness of fundamentals. We knock out substantial underpinnings when we allow any exemptions to one group which interfere with another. Listen as Americans to recent complaints that promises have been given to the federation of labor leaders that a certain law of the country should not be applied to union workers. How long could any government stand upon such an application of law? But that has been the puerile assertion of arbitrary right which has dominated the country from the same source all these years of abuse and violation of law. But the exemption from law is not the province of any executive or the lawful demand of any leaders. The laws belong to the whole people, and not to a part of the people. There is not, nor can there be, any such thing as private interpretation. In the instance we have a striking illustration of the peril of permitting any body of men to set up laws for themselves and practice things which override the rights of others defined by our laws and protected by our courts. What has been allowed without law comes to be put forth as law, and if at any point it is disputed, a wail of betrayal is sent up. We cannot insist too earnestly upon and repeat too often the peril through which we have been coming. Congress has been making our laws and the unions have made others, and with astounding effrontery they have secured amendments which have given to them

immunity from unblushing violation of the plainest rights of men. It is not strange that we have a vigorous assertion of Bolshevism among us. We have looked on with passive curiosity while it has gathered force and now dares to challenge the veracity of the President and to question the justice of our courts.

How far can it all go unhindered and unoppressed without a revolution? It dares to-day to threaten every hearth in the land. It threatens to stop every wheel of railroads over which come our food and our fuel. Can any loyal Americans afford to be associated with any such propaganda?

I wish to affirm what I have already said: The workingman should have an adequate wage to meet the demands of an industrious, temperate, and frugal life; that he may have his home, whether a cottage which he owns or rents in a wholesome and clean part of the town; that he may be well clothed, so that his wife and children may be comfortable in their persons and their feelings; that he may be well fed and have his share of the amenities of life which belong to a prudent family; that he may meet the demands upon a citizen and have his place in his church and in the common charities. I would have him receive enough for a margin for the savings bank. And I would also have this workingman appreciate the fact that his wage must come from the profits of the business which employs him and that it cannot come from any

other source. The world is not to divide with him; he must earn what he is to possess. And even in schools and churches and hospitals he must bear his part. I would have him understand that he is not to be legislated for as a class any more than the traders with their shops and stores or the clerks or commercial travelers or the teachers in the public schools or the nurses in the hospitals or the preachers, priests, and rabbis. There is no reason why the workingman should form a political party more than men of other callings. He is a citizen of the whole country, and what he is and does must be for the country. If born into this country, this should be one of the first lessons taught him in the kindergarten, and he should never be permitted to lose it. If he comes here, he should meet that obligation to the land when he comes from the gangway, and the minute he shows that he ignores it and is here only for what he can scrape up and has no other use for our country but to destroy it, he should be sent back whence he came. Our country is first, and those who prefer any other country or come here to reform our country we do not want, and we should not permit to stay here. They are a thousand times more to be feared than the coolie Chinaman or Japanese.

The workingman owes it to himself to appreciate what he has. He is, all things considered, the best paid man in the country to-day. His average pay is over a thousand dollars a year, and some of the labor callings pay twice and three times that amount.

His average pay is more than the average of the pay of the preachers of all denominations of our country and more than that of the teachers. Some of the workingmen of the United States receive far more than the salaries of college professors. The workingman's pay has gone up as far as it can go without economic injury to him and to the country. In many cases it is far too high and is chargeable with the high cost of living. It has been a fatal blunder for him to be used by his leaders to force wages up because he could beyond where the country can pay them.

I am in hearty sympathy with the workingman. I was once a day laborer. I paid for my own education, and no man gave me a cent except the founders of the schools which I found waiting for me, and which every laborer finds waiting for his sons and daughters. For nearly a quarter of a century the majority of members in my church were working people, and I greatly delighted in them and never found it necessary to appeal to any class spirit among them. They were intelligent, clean, wholesome, noble people. Some of them, starting in poverty and humble circumstances, became rich. I found no jealousy and envy among them because of their differing estates in life. I prefer that kind of a church to one wholly rich or wholly poor. I would prefer the second to the first. I would be more at home in it. For more than another quarter of a century I have been at the head of a poor man's

university. I do not want it to be any different except that I may have more to help the poor man's sons and daughters. I have begged hundreds of thousands of dollars to help through college young men and young women who were helping themselves as best they could, but who would have failed without further help. I have received this help from all classes, among them millionaires, not one of whom did not begin life a poor boy or a poor girl. Mrs. Russell Sage, one of our most liberal patrons, sat at an open window to hear Jenny Lind sing because she had not the money to pay the admission to the concert. Fortunately, she lived next door to the church where the concert was given. Will you workingmen ever again permit your noblest benefactors to be hunted through the world as plutocrats and the predatory rich?

The capitalist has not always been the workingman's friend. He sometimes has treated him like a lathe or drill press—a machine. But the exception should not be charged as a rule. Some men of money have coined their dividends out of blood and the sweat of the brow. They have been without mercy. But there is little of that left now, and the agitator who teaches laborers to look upon all employers as heartless and grinding is not the workingman's friend. Occasionally there is a man of great wealth, through fortunate circumstances more than ability, who attempts to befriend the laboring man in an unwise and harmful way. The highest

interests of the workingman are in an established and widely recognized law of profit and wage. It is best for him that he is included in a general condition rather than in spasmodic fluctuations, even if they allow him in a given industry in a year, greater pay. The multi-millionaire who scatters eight or ten millions of wages among the thousands of his workingmen is not a wise friend to laborers. He does positive harm by disturbing the whole fabric of labor. I do not question his motives. His unwisdom is plain enough for anyone to see. It is fine to set a pattern of good wage, but bonuses are unstable and disturbing. If the profits are extravagant after the best material and workmanship has been put into the product and high wages are paid, the price could be lowered. It belongs to the public, and the competition would do no harm in a period of extravagant prices.

The prosperity of all is the highest prosperity of my neighbor the workingman. Building prospers, the factories prosper, the stores prosper, the farms prosper; these are the best patrons of labor. The workingman's prosperity cannot be forced ahead of the general conditions of prosperity in his community. He may force a temporary gain or receive an unwise bonus, but he depends upon everybody's success. He cannot be set aside as a class, and all the world set its gauge by him and for him. He must come on with all men and help all men.

CHAPTER XVII

MY NEIGHBOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

It is an old maxim in which are sound principles of human life that "No man lives to himself." One of the troubles with our country is that men are trying to reverse that ancient teaching, which, if old, is not out of date, but on the contrary has been established by its age. The world never has moved forward a rod where the principle has been forgotten. Our hope of manhood and our stronghold upon manhood has been in the ample provisions in our laws and institutions for all men. Men who organize themselves into a political party to overthrow our institutions and set up a new code of laws among us are not of us. They no more resemble us than do the Simians of tropic jungles because they stand on two legs and are gregarious.

The other day these Simian descendants met in Chicago and organized themselves into a third political party which they called "The Labor Party." It is strange that they called themselves the labor party. They did not affiliate themselves with the lawyers, nor the teachers in the colleges, nor with the merchants and manufacturers. They chose labor. Was it because there is anything in

the conditions of labor in this country which calls for agitation and defense by aliens who have insinuated their perverting notions into its organizations? This attempt to establish a political propaganda does not represent American labor. The great element of labor in this country is loyal and contented. Strikes in nearly all cases are projected by foreigners or their descendants, who never have learned our laws and whose ignorance is the secret of their diabolical mischief. Our workingmen are responsible for permitting such characters to have any place among them and to hang up their red flags above the roofs of labor unions and make them their headquarters. These founders of the first openly declared Bolshevic political party in our country, men defeated in bomb-throwing and other kinds of assassination and sabotage, declare as their political principles, in the name of labor, the abolition of the United States Senate; the overthrow of our federal courts by electing with popular vote, for terms of four years, the judges who are now safeguarded in honest, judicial opinions by life terms; the condemnation of government injunctions; the release of all political and industrial prisoners; the internationalizing of all labor; demand of free speech, free press, and free assembly; old-age unemployment and sick pensions; incomes of individuals to be limited by law; the ownership by government of banks and the control by the government of all banking operations; government ownership and

operation of railroads; and the application of the home rule principle (of Bolshevism) in State, county and city government.

Here we have, out in the open, what Ole Hansen fought in Seattle and Calvin Coolidge fought in Boston. It will surprise thousands of our citizens who have thought it the harmless ranting of the soap-boxers. There is coupled with it the dignity and influence of labor citizenship, although tens of thousands of the champions of these alien doctrines could not cast a ballot. There are also coupled with these monstrous doctrines, appeals calculated to catch the popular eye of those who can read, certain sympathetic promises: approval of woman's suffrage, equal pay of men and women, criminal prosecution of profiteers and exploiters of labor, condemnation of universal military training, government work to be done by day labor and not by contract.

I say it will surprise thousands of our citizens to know that anything so destructive to the entire structure of our constitutional government and a duplicate of the Bolshevic, soviet, and I. W. W. teachings has taken root deep enough to bear this up as fruit in our political economy. But what surprises me is that such teachings do not surprise our workingmen as they go out under their new flag. I shall be surprised, perhaps I should say, if there is not an instant protest in all the labor unions and by the independent workers of the whole country against

these formal promulgations in Chicago by declared enemies of our country. The responsibility is upon the labor union as an organization which can speak in the community with one voice and which owes it to itself to exterminate this pernicious thing. The virus can no longer be denied, nor concealed. Labor unions must accept and champion it or refute it. Union men must either stand for these doctrines or come out from the unions in which they have taken shelter and which practically indorse them.

Look at them! They propose the destruction of our Constitution, not in a vague, undefined way, but by striking down and destroying a coordinate form of our government. Has the attack by the President upon the Senate emboldened the Bolshevists to insert this plank in their platform? They demand the destruction of our courts. Are our workingmen ready to substitute the reign of terror for the reign of law? They ask that banks and financial operations shall be put into their hands. That involves all business, all commerce, and all manufacture. Do they want such men to hold the mortgages on their cottages? The next step would be the nationalizing of women and families, for the foreign authors of these doctrines have declared against the family as the foe to their propaganda. Are the workingmen of America prepared for these things? Will they stand for such politics? Will they permit themselves to be used even as silent partners in such infamy? Will they stand by and have their hon-

orable name put forth for these monstrous propositions so late as the twentieth century?

The men who have projected this labor party, with these anarchistic planks, are not Americans; their birthright is not in the twentieth century. They are as barbarous as the hordes of Alaric and the mad Kaiserites whom we have just overthrown. They have no right to the name of labor. They have no part with labor. They destroy everything they touch. They add nothing constructive to our country, and in the country from which they bring the model of their diabolicism they have poured a flood of pestilential ruin upon the unfortunate people, deluging them with every imaginable hurt and misery and sorrow. In this country the workingman is a citizen. He is already, and always has been, in the majority. He knows that the alien counterfeit which circulates appeals to him against the government for his help as a laborer, in an effort to overthrow our Senate and courts, is not for labor, but for anarchy and Bolshevism. It is not for a greater chance to labor or more just hours or larger wage. It is to steal the name of labor with which to serve Bolshevism. It is to use labor to set up a rule of anarchism and steal the estates of men who have won what they have by labor. Labor has never been so grossly outraged, never so shamelessly defamed, as it is in being put forth by these wild agitators as champions of their murderous pretensions to a reform party. Can it be possible that

there is sufficiently dense ignorance in any body of men in our country to encourage these "murderers general" to attempt an organized attack upon our constitutional government and our world-renowned finance and commerce? And who are the persons into whose hands they are to place it all? The Berkmans and Goldmans are their champions. The prisons at Atlanta and Leavenworth are to yield the Debs and Nearings, while Mooney will be brought over from San Quentin. The soap-box orators, in the tramps' unclean rags, will take charge of the banks and the bomb-makers can be spared to run the factories. There will be no great men needed for the Senate. There will be no Senate. It is entertaining; it is exhilarating to let the mind dwell upon the wonderful change which will come over this great land, when the new Congress, the new courts, the new banks, the whole new order remove the present order and substitute their men for the old United States and set up for us a new and improved land and country! Of course they have qualified somewhere in something! They have proved themselves as statesmen and jurists and financiers! We have been in the habit of insisting upon this test. Ninety per cent of labor has demanded it before it could go to the polls and vote; that is, all labor has except the new labor party! Possibly the new champions of human freedom will point us to Russia! There is one encouragement: there need be no fear of coal strikes—the smokeless

factory chimneys prove that. There would be no need of casket companies—they have buried more people over there with less coffins than the world has ever known. The folly of savings banks can be set aside—the people have nothing to deposit; their representatives take all of that. There will be no taxes—no one will own anything and the state or government will do everything. Lenine is appealing to his imperiled constituency against the few, daring to own small farms, as capitalists and plutocrats who will attempt to overthrow his nothing-for-anybody plan, with which even some proletariats begin to show symptoms of discontent. When has there been anything in our land so degrading and humiliating to intelligent men and women as this unblushing announcement, by a crowd of imbeciles, of a party to reform our government throughout, in the name of American labor?

How did it get so far along, and how did it venture to take on the name, if the Judas among the twelve of labor had not betrayed the country by sympathetic fellowship and bargaining with our enemies? The responsibility is with the labor unions and the men who have inspired strikes and defied injunctions and assailed the Senate until Atlanta loomed up before them. The men who have been praised for their loyalty to our nation have been making the conditions which have made possible the courage of anarchists to form an anarchist political party among us, that they may

escape the penalty of seditious speech by posing as a political party. The truckling, the compromises, the abuse of the coordinate Senate of the great government by the administration so desperately unfortunate for us at a time like this, have been sources of inspiration to every malcontent plotting to overthrow our mighty republic. Sturdy Americanism at Washington, resisting the first inception of labor's unreasonable demands and enforcing deportation at New York before it became too notorious to hide or defend, would have saved the country from an invasion which would not have disbanded the police of Boston nor shot our brave boys at Centralia, and left it safe for traitorous marauders to organize publicly in Chicago. We are back at the old game again with men as disreputable as the Boston police, flattering them for loyalty after they have held up the whole country for five weeks in winter, closing down business at a time when the whole world is crying out for production, and freezing the homes of vast areas, with no mercy for the sick and aged. While it is true that we all had a right to expect our authorities to make short work of an abuse of privilege so glaringly disloyal and inhuman, I cannot resist the thought, which is general, that labor in its organic form has a large responsibility for conditions so antagonistic to the sacred interests of our country. Labor must not be used by designing politicians nor by Bolshevist pirates.

Labor in every form, and especially in the unions, should respect itself so instantly and thoroughly as to make it impossible for any alien and dangerous element to shelter under its roof, or to use its name. It cannot escape being judged by its associates. Its sympathies will bear fruit. They are the buds, and they are poison buds which it does not take an expert to detect. It will be strange, and convictingly so, if all over this mighty land labor does not speak its tremendous protest against being used in name in any attempt to overthrow our government and especially in an effort with particulars more traitorous than traitor ever uttered in our history. If labor does not repudiate this use of its name, it gives its name to be used and is as traitorous as the gang of our foes at Chicago. It is a case of being against them or with them. If labor would claim a patent upon its name for anything, it should be for loyalty. It cannot be careless of its country and live. Our hope in our labor, the overwhelming majority of it, is in what it is in its citizenship. Property cannot afford to be disloyal and give its destiny into the hands of anarchists who can be held to no responsibility for it. Hundreds of thousands of our laborers own their neat homes and have modest savings in the banks. They own small farms and truck plots and milk routes. They have small mills and shops, and those who do not actually possess these things have them in their ambitions and prudent savings. The workers who count upon them to overthrow the

republic where such things are so common, reckon their own overthrow. Ours is not a discontented labor. There is only a small per cent of it so, and that is under alien influence. Millions of our workingmen have gone under the saving influence of the common school and the free high school. Millions of them read newspapers which teach the sound principles upon which the great republic was founded. Millions of them have been schooled to correct our country's mistakes by changing men and not by destroying law. When they make a mistake by carelessly choosing wrong men, they wait their time and choose the next time more carefully, and they choose always to build up and not to tear down. They cannot be rallied to destroy. They can be rallied to defend our institutions and our liberties. In forty-eight hours a million of them would be on their way to recruiting camps to march out against the hairy, unwashed gang which has made the mistake of imagining that we have a grievance over here which we cannot redress with our own intelligence and our own loyal support of principles which must be made the foundation stones of every permanent land. Our workingmen cannot be enlisted in the cause of ignorance, of vice, of cruelty, of murder, of tyranny, of riotous destruction of property, under a flag of hatred of the prosperous and contented borne by the indolent, the licentious, and the traitorous foes of all order and all government. Men of the Bolshevistic stripe, who think

that our men can be rallied in such a course, have not taken their measure. They have overlooked the little red building on the hilltop. They have not seen the farm paper or the church paper or the illustrated weekly in the country home. They have not examined the book tagged with the public library which the boy is reading in spare moments. They have not attended the town meeting where community affairs are discussed and noted the numbers of young men eager listeners, nor seen the crowds of young men and boys who made up a large per cent of political gatherings where great national questions are the common property of all the people. Those who propose to destroy our Senate at Washington will have to show the most ignorant of us why. They will find it as deep-rooted as our churches and our homes. Politically men will differ with it, but they will respect it and honor it as their government, and to be without it has never entered the most intense partisan thought. They will change the men in it, but it stands forever. Under stress of political feeling, they may recall a judge, but they will never reverse a judicial decision by popular vote. To recall men is one thing, to recall law is quite another.

I do not direct my neighbor's attention to the anarchists who dare to declare themselves as an American political party in the name of labor because I have any fear that they will ever rally the labor of this country under their red flag of riot.

I am moved by an instinctive loyalty which protests anything so revolting as an avowed purpose to overthrow my government, however idiotic that purpose may be. I speak that my neighbor the workingman may not carelessly allow himself to stand for anything which so outrageously slanders him and misuses the honorable name of labor. There are things in this country which we do not fear, but which we loathe, and if they are not perilous, nevertheless we cannot tolerate them with self-respect. The self-respect of our laboring men is a priceless asset. Without it we would not be safe a day against the Bolshevist and the wild-eyed socialist. When the silly theorists of the colleges and the newspaper forum are wallowing in the quagmires of internationalism, we can always depend upon our solid workingmen of the farms and shops to remember that this is America and that there is no land between the seas so safe, so kind in its opportunities, so solid in its progressive stability as America.

My purpose is to warn my neighbor, whose work I once helped do, of the injustice he does himself and the discredit he brings upon his country when he permits himself to act under a leadership which antagonizes the Constitution of his great land and which proposes any violation or disregard of its laws. American workingmen cannot afford to permit their names to be used in a declared plan to overturn the foundations of our government. They

may say to me that their leaders have pronounced against the political party which declares its purposes to destroy our Senate and courts, but such declaration of the federation of labor is made null and void by the hostile utterances of its leaders in defiance of our laws and by continuing our steel and coal strikes. Men who are on record with their statements that they will not obey laws against strikes and their contempt for injunctions, differ so little from the anarchist leaders of politics as to have no influence against them or to represent loyal workingmen. They may pronounce against Bolshevism, but they are Bolshevists. They oppose all law which opposes their practices. They oppose the injunction when it enjoins them. They say that they do not sympathize with agitators and radicals. What are they themselves? We have had no worse agitators than the men who have inspired a generation of strikes and sabotage. These men tell their followers that the land is governed by injunction and injunction is the decision of one man, as though there were no court to vacate it if unjust, and as though a lower court's decision is not always by one man. It is Bolshevism which demands court decisions by popular vote.

It is too late for federation leaders to declaim against the introduction of the Bolshevist spirit into the federation of labor. It has been there for years. It has been a controlling spirit from the beginning. It started with the spirit of dictation and tyranny

and put itself across the plain path of constitutional liberty of the overwhelming majority of the workingmen of this country. And it is only when it sees the handwriting of the people on the wall, against disloyal utterances condemning the courts, that it puts forth professions of loyalty and renounces the work of its own hands and repudiates the foes of our land whom it has fostered and used against us.

What is the persistent attack upon capital but Bolshevism? The anarchist party says, "Limit the amount a man shall have." The federation assails capital blindly and condemns capitalists for what they have, without regard to consequences. It is worse, for it is destruction without limit and disorganizes the whole structure of business and labor. The anarchist political party in the name of labor has the intelligence and courage of definiteness. I cannot understand what labor is going to do when capital is restricted. It is a peculiar limitation of the rights of man. It opens a large question, reaching even into the divine economy. There are certain primary questions. If we are to limit a man's right to get all the money he can by ability and honesty in business, why not limit his right to learning since his larger learning gives him advantage over his associates? He would learn engineering and applied science and mechanics. He would have larger reasoning faculties. Why not limit the size of his home, make it one story instead of two or three, and restrict the cost, because the

workingman lives in a one-story cottage? Why not limit the number of his children, for they inherit his fortune when he dies and increase the number of capitalists!

There is no such thing as *reductio ad absurdam* with the enemies of capitalists. They start with an absurdity too great for anything more absurd to be reduced from it. As well talk about labor without skill and muscle as business without money and money-making employers. For workingmen to plot against capital is as senseless as it would be to cut their feet off because shoes cost too much. Capital is a part and parcel of labor. It is the laborers' capital furnished them by men who might keep it from them by not using it or by turning it in other directions. It is the extreme of folly to talk about capital being an interest by itself and labor being another interest by itself, and that they can be opposed to each other. Capital has nothing and can do nothing of which labor is not an identified and an essential part. And labor can be nothing which does not concern capital. The health and contentment and skill and all the habits of workingmen are a part of capital. These things are an essential investment of the capitalist. What folly, suggesting the inmates of the feeble-minded institutions, when men, who have forced themselves into leadership, preach antagonism between these identical interests which depend upon each other for the success of either.

As I have said, capital has sometimes been unjust to labor. It has withheld wages when it should have paid more, and been indifferent to conditions of sanitation, and charged in its stores exorbitant prices of its employees. Its bosses have often been brutal and dismissed men unfairly. But labor has been unjust to capital. It has done its work inefficiently through ignorance and shiftlessness, spoiling valuable machines and material. It has laid off as it chose and grumbled and excited discontent without cause. The just complaint has not all been on one side. Let us have the account in particulars. I have been a laborer and an employer. It is my conviction, from an extensive acquaintance with both, that the capitalist has a more just ground for complaint than has the laborer. Recently a careful computation of the case between capital and labor has been published. It is largely the strike account. (The cost to labor in the one year now closing is three quarters of a billion dollars.) It would be interesting to know how the account balances when the workingman puts in his pocket the increased pay. But what of the capitalist? The laborer has forced a loss upon him, a loss over a billion and a quarter of dollars in the same year. And that was the money of the public, and it added distress of higher cost of living and distress for things withheld from production. It was largely the laborers' loss also, for it was money which would have increased business and furnished more employment, and in its

regular order, a larger wage. It is a demonstration of the insane folly of permitting any Bolshevistic federation or leadership of any kind to set labor against capital. Capital and labor are allies. They must be in friendly and cooperative relation. They are not nationally nor logically opposed to each other, and the men who set them against each other are ignoramuses in the first principles of sound economics or demagogues who are playing these great coordinate forces into their contention for supremacy. They care nothing for the laboring man. They are the only enemies of the workingman.

Let me urge the friends of my youth and of my pastoral oversight—an inspiring friendship—that a great responsibility now rests upon them. They are well paid and generously paid as compared with the preacher and the teacher. The only ground for worry and anxiety is the disturbed conditions of business, for which they are largely responsible, by permitting their designing and scheming leaders to create distrust of the men who supply wage and by inciting the enemies of our country to disturb the confidence in those men who must depend for credit upon the stability of our financial centers for the business which alone can supply the wage earner with his job. The responsibility is upon the workingman, for his producing power is in the factory and shop and his credit goes into every store in the town.

Our citizens should not consent, for an hour, to be led by men with prison records and by men who traduce our government and venomously assail the sources of our manufacture and trade. If they do, they will be held responsible for the crimes of which their leaders are guilty. The American citizen needs no one to defend him against his government nor to protect him against his employer and his non-union neighbor. He should repudiate such signs of disloyalty and weakness.

America expects her workingmen to be citizens in their own right. They must not ally themselves with any element which opposes their country or welcomes here any principles which oppose the utmost liberties provided in our state and national institutions. They must not become anything nor do anything which classifies them as of an inferior or dependent order. Under no circumstances must they be herded and driven as raw immigrants are by their own kind, who qualify only by having been longer in the country. It is degrading to American citizens. Self-respecting citizens will not permit it, nor will men who wear such a yoke be respected by their neighbors. For such things to be is to cost us independent and self-respecting men who are the most valuable source of our citizenship, and the most reliable and dependable defenses of our free institutions. The only feature of serfdom we have in this country is in those men who refuse citizenship and permit themselves to be controlled, body and

soul, by designing men who would forsake them to-morrow were it not for the large share which they have in the ignorant man's wage. (We should not permit such a condition in our country, and it is a humiliating disgrace that native-born American citizens should be found among these serfs.) Nothing but freedom fits into our country. None but free men, capable, intelligent, self-governing, loyal, have a right to a place in America. Such men soon own their own property and save their own wage and choose their own State and national representatives. No citizens should be higher, none more safely trusted. Our land should be secure in the hands of our independent and self-reliant workingmen.

My neighbor the workingman should insist that his union shall standardize its men and their work, and lift employment out of the haphazard and conflicting conditions which are a source of contention. It has come to pass that any group of men, however inefficient, can agree overnight to push their wage into an absurd figure for the kind of work they do, and compel employers to grant it or compromise by some substantial advance. It does great mischief to labor and arouses antagonism among employers. Take the case of the ashmen. Suddenly in winter snows and zero weather they see their opportunity to prey upon the householder and strike for absurd pay for their services. The man who, before the war, was glad to take two dollars

or less for a day's work, demands five dollars, not because the high cost of living has reached him, but because he believes he can force it upon a helpless community. There should be an authority to resist this, and it should be among the workingmen themselves. They should be responsible for insisting upon justice among workingmen and resisting unfair and cruel treatment of the community by any class of laborers. The unions should standardize labor. A scale should be fixed, a definite measure should be set up. There should be a common agreement as to values of labor in trades or callings, and of laborers of the same trade according to their proficiency and the quality of their work. And men should not be permitted to select a time to enforce their demands which causes suffering and embarrassment to the community—to the poor not less than to the rich, to the sick and to the well. The country has long felt the injustice of unclassified work. Workingmen owe it to themselves to standardize and to demand simple and plain justice upon the part of labor if they are to expect it from employers.

CHAPTER XVIII

MY NEIGHBOR'S FUTURE WAGE

We have shown plainly that the workingman is one of the best paid of all men in this country, whether he is the coal miner, the railroad man, the skilled mechanic, or the manual laborer. Wages have doubled and quadrupled. The Italian digging a ditch gets more pay than the school-teacher fitting young America with his first ideas. The carpenter is paid more, twice over, than the average preacher of all denominations combined. The railroad engineer of government-managed roads receives more than the college professor. It all resolves itself into the question: Do teachers of common schools, professors in colleges, and preachers get too little, or do the workingmen receive too much? It is certain that the teachers and preachers do not get too much, nor do they get half what they ought to have. Their conditions are a disgrace to their constituents, whether of the town or the church. There is high authority for an earnest claim for them—"The laborer is worthy of his hire." And there can be no higher service to mankind than they are rendering.

Is the workingman receiving too much, and is he

waiting a decrease in the high cost of living or is it a new and permanent scale of wage which must be kept up because in a decade or more it has been too low? I think that I have reason for believing the latter. Have the changed conditions of the average man, the needs of the new and better way of living, his part in the responsibilities of life, made it necessary for him to set a higher price upon his labor? Can he meet the new scale of obligations on the old scale of wage? Must not the times, which have placed upon him this new order of things, help him carry it? It is a practical question as to whether our country wants this new condition, and if it does, can it afford to pay for it. Thinking men and women will say we must have the best conditions possible for our laboring men. The country demands it. Our civilization, our progress, our prosperity, have their roots in the contentment and thrift of the men of mechanic arts and manual labor. The better homes they live in, the more comforts within these homes, the nearer they live like the well-to-do, the more promptly their bills are paid, the more like other folk they and their wives dress, the more self-respecting their boys and girls are, the better it is for our land and country, the greater country we shall have. Our prosperity is not in the number of our millionaires, even if it is seldom that one of them lives to himself, but it is in the general thrift and frugality and happiness of the average man. I purposely avoid saying the common people, for I

was reared to respect and revere the honest, temperate, hard-working American man, who daily bends his back to the common burden. It will be a sad day for this land when that man cannot dig enough out of life's task to make a happy home for his family. The divine obligation is upon him. The man who does not care for his own household is worse than an infidel, is the teaching of the Holy Scriptures. And a land which does not provide for the possibilities of that family's self-support, in its laws and economics, and enforce those possibilities by a vigorous common sentiment, should not call itself a Christian land.

We want, therefore, the highest and noblest estate for our fellow workers who labor for wage. It should be inculcated as a common sentiment, not as a concession and in no form of a charity. It must be arranged so that it is a right, as much as the right to trade at a profit, and to manufacture, and to build, and to invest for legitimate gain. The workingman must be on the same plane with his prosperous neighbors.

One of the secrets of the stability of our country and of its progress is that our people are expected to own property. The savings bank is a temporary arrangement for the safe accumulation of wages. The objective is a home and with it goes the thought of citizenship. Communism is destructive to citizenship and never has succeeded from the first days of the common necessity of Christ's disciples to the

transcendentalists at Brook Farm. Bolshevism, besides active destructive elements, carries its own downfall in denying individual property and rights, or permitting only a scattered and unearned possession of properties robbed from rightful owners. There is a firm anchorage for the man of the little farm to which he holds a title defended by the state. His home, to which he holds a deed, even if mortgaged, gives weight and dignity to his vote. He feels that he has a voice which no man can deny him, because he owns property. It fixes his habitation. He is not a tramp nor a wanderer uncounted and unaccountable. He has a street and number, and whatever concerns the town is his concern. Anything which affects its property, its health, its good name, has to do with his property. It is easy to see the bearing of a man's property upon the prices and thrift, the prosperity and contentment of a community. It can be seen that an intelligent business town is paying in wages for something more than the cost of manufactured articles in days' work. It gets a citizen. It is paying for general thrift. It helps build the homes and fixes the quality of the goods bought and paid for in the stores. Many large manufacturing firms build homes for their help to live in at a nominal rent, and this is commendable. Unfortunately, such help has not the making of citizenship. But it is an infinite improvement when the laborers own their homes and pay their own taxes and with pride make the repairs. This is

American citizenship and it is an invaluably important part of our best citizenship. We lose it at our peril.

If we could have but one of two conditions, namely, a thousand men in a community owning and supporting their cottages with labor and thrift, or one multimillionaire with other men working for wages only, it were far better for the community to have the thousand men than the one. The ideal way is to have them both. That puts no limit on the poor man; and it is from the poor that the rich come in nearly all cases, not because they are poor, but we have discovered in our country that among the poor are often found some of the keenest and clearest minds of the land.

There is every logical reason for America to promote the thrift of the working people, and it has not been backward in doing so. It sounds strange in our ears to hear men, foreign-born, declaiming against our institutions and laws as unfriendly to our laboring people. Such empty talk is from sources of dense ignorance. This fact cannot be enforced too vigorously upon our people.

America is made up of the plain, intelligent, faithful workers. We have no trouble with them. They always have been reasonable and have shared their country's lot and destiny without complaint. Those who disturb our land have no claim upon us. They have no right to stay here. They do not earn that right and are justly deported, and should have been

shipped away decades ago. The hundred-per-cent American laid our foundations deep and strong. He came here with freedom in his heart, or he was born here with law and order as his creed. He fought the battles which made us free and kept us one people. He went millions strong across the seas to battle for the world's freedom. He has returned to keep in sacred trust that freedom in these United States. He has been overwhelmingly in numbers and force the workingman. He was in the beginning. He has been all the way up through our history. Every American wants this man, in shop or farm or wherever he toils, to have all that there is for him, and insists that whatever there is in law needed by him he shall have that law. The country will do all for him that it can do and be just to other men in both law and wage. But if this country is to afford this increased wage and start out with it in a new and permanent epoch, the workingman must help carry the burden. He must not expect it to be done for him, or set up the claim of back pay for an underpaid past. There must be an equivalent upon his part. It must be a wage for service rendered and not a bonus out of other men's business. Is the workingman ready to enter into such a bargain with the community in which he lives? Will he do all the work that the business requires and be content with what it can pay, until he helps it pay more? It is a plain case of arithmetic. What is paid must be paid out of what is produced. If time is wasted,

it is a loss as truly as it is if material is wasted. If power is shut down or run on short time, it is the same as leaving raw material unused and not worked into the typewriter, the automobile, or whatever is produced in a factory. If the day laborer intends to have double the old-time pay, he must give the manufacturer a chance to make it. He must not waste a billion and a half of wage money in six months, nor force his employer to lose two and a half billion dollars in the same time. The four billions loss to the country by strikes during the past year would have put wages on a sound and greatly increased basis for a long time. It was a loss. The goods were not produced. The world did not receive them. It is four billions poorer, and the loss cannot be recovered. I am not discussing the fault. It may have been on both sides. I am stating a fact. Such planning will make it impossible for wages to remain where they are. Wages cannot be forced above production, and they cannot long be kept below production. Wages are not arbitrarily determined by either capital or labor. As everybody who thinks must know, they have their own law by which they ebb and flow, as truly as the sea. Produce the goods, or do not produce the goods. The result is as visible as neap tides and full tides. If the workingmen reduce the hours and force up the wages, the goods must pay it, both the short time and the increased pay envelope. Business is not done as a charity. It must pay dividends or it will

not be done. Business is not done to help the laborer. It is willing to pay for what it gets. Is the workingman willing to work for what he is paid? If he arrogantly demands more pay and insolently loafs on the job, if he not only shortens hours but obstructs men who want work and must work if they live, the price of manufactured commodities is correspondingly increased and the people must pay their money for the higher-priced article and cannot pay it for wages; or, if they do pay it for wages in the higher price for the article, quickly the money is reduced in price and higher wage is worth no more than lower wage. The workingman has the determination of the whole question of wage in his own hands. It is production. The world can afford the wage and will be made to see its justice, if the laborer will produce the goods. This is the solution of the problem. It is not profit-sharing. That is impracticable. In exceptional cases, with business of exceptional adaptations, it will work for a time, but as a general rule it will not work, and the workingman should not waste his time contending over it. He puts nothing into the profit side of the business, except his labor, and that he is to be paid for with a sufficient wage. He plans no market nor buys material. He takes no chances of loss, nor puts on the road agents of the firm. He establishes no credit at the bank, and carries no risks of compensation and accident, nor fire and flood. It is folly to attempt to mix the labor and the capital of a business

and make either do both. If workingmen are to have a share in the profits, they must stand their part of the loss. There would be more friction and contention by suspicion of dishonesty or charge of inefficient business management than we now have in disputes over the length of the day and the size of the pay envelope.

A modified Bolshevism, in which the laborer is to take a part in the business management and profits and at the same time is responsible for the wage-earning, will never fit into a republic where all those matters have been wrought out and are guided by laws which provide for all emergencies and changes. The workingman, who ascends to property ownership, must permit his employer, who provides the business, to own and manage his own property. The practical question is for the artisan and hand laborer to make the business pay profit to the owner and more wages to the worker, if honest work will do it. And that is so simple and elementary that it requires no complicated machinery on either side. It does not demand high-salaried agitators, nor an expensive organization by the workers. To-day, if the foremost papers of the country may be believed, the day laborers are paying immense sums for a machinery for the purpose of guarding their exclusive rights and wages, which their country can do better. Men who occupy their time in shouting against employers control millions of fees and funds. Men who lament the hard lot of the American working-

man are paid from ten thousand to eighteen thousand dollars annually in salaries besides traveling expenses, to keep up a row in the world of labor.

All these union expenses and high salaries should be cut out and the men should turn their unions into mutual benefit clubs, to which all self-respecting toilers are welcome. With strikes abandoned and unlawful, there will be no demand for the lobbyist and stump-speaker, and the workingman can devote himself to the humanity of a common brotherhood and the self-respect of his citizenship. It will be a great day for the workingman when he stops fighting his employer and combines with him in a common interest. When he gets rid of the foreign-born meddler, he will make a large contribution to the increase of day wages. We can afford the greater wages when we all pull together. Whenever we have worked together in this country we never have had starving laborers. We have had some squalor and misery from the saloons, but our sober and faithful workers could always earn a healthful living, and now the days will brighten and the old-time citizenship will come back as we return to American wages and leave to their false gods the blind prophets of labor who have led our workingmen into the ditch. We can afford the higher wage if it is to give us greater men.

One of the faults of our country is its wrong objective, and in this our laborers have been schooled assiduously for a generation. Increased

pay has been set before them by leaders from lands of poverty and conditions of discomfort and distress, and there has been example sufficient from the prosperous of our own land who have not regarded economy and frugality in their personal and home habits, but who have made money their god. The passion has been to get more, and then to get more, and keep it all for one's appetite and ambition. There have been noble exceptions, but they have been exceptions. They can be counted easily in any community. They are conspicuous in the nation. The purpose of getting money, the great and useful things to do with it, are forgotten. All is left for a hurried legacy, and usually that is all required to meet the cultivated extravagances of a family record in an atmosphere of riches. No wonder the toilers measure their condition with this pattern and forget the contentment enjoined as one of the fundamental principles of a useful and happy life. We cannot afford to have men prosperous in any callings, if they are not to add to the community something more than physical prosperity. We must have more manhood than property in every town in our America. We can afford to pay the highest wages if they are going into greater intelligence, greater loyalty, sounder religion in charity, in fraternity, and ways of practical usefulness. Such wages are an investment. We cannot afford not to pay them. The trouble has been, not that employers grudge good wage, they insist that the men shall be worth it.

Much that they employ is unfit in every way. The manufacturer has equipped his factory with machines of delicate mechanism at great cost. To heat a journal or break a gear or bend a shaft out of line means an instant loss of hundreds of dollars. The employer cannot afford to have that man among his machines at any price, but the present system forces him to take help sent to him with a ticket from the union.

The first thing to be demanded, if the community is to keep the high wage where it now is and increase it, is that the man who expects it shall qualify the man who is to receive it in his manhood. I know that gumption is born, but common sense, just plain common sense, can be cultivated. And one of the greatest elements in proficiency is a high type of manhood. The moral traits enter largely into the qualities of an artisan. They are fine, polished, firm grain of his composition. They are like the rhythmic sense of the musician, the color of the artist, the vision of the architect. Every workingman should qualify for the best that can be done with skilled hands and the tools of the mechanic, and the first principle of it all is plain, old-fashioned manhood. That man will not have to spend his evenings growling and gnashing his teeth at capitalists and plutocrats. He will belong in their company and have a common interest with them. It is the surest way to increase wages.

Every community can afford to pay the working-

man his full share when he takes his place as a citizen who qualifies for the best things. Our public schools are to help him. The whole spirit of America appeals to him. He is the man who should be employed. It is a serious question whether a contractor should hire brutal men over and above men of intelligence and the American habits of living. Thousands of foreign-born men are among our best citizens, and such have been welcomed to our shores by ship loads. But they have assimilated and are the proverbial one-hundred-per cent Americans. I insist that if the builder and manufacturer are to pay first-class wages, they must have first-class men. Second-class men, who are contented to be so, must accept second-class pay. The mischief done labor by the practice of the unions in forcing all kinds at the same price has been done at an enormous cost to our country. We cannot afford it. The intelligent workingmen cannot afford it. It must be an immensely greater gain to put every man on his merits than to protect labor by barring apprentices and slowing up the job.

If we are to have high wages, the contractor cannot do it alone. The workingman must help. He must do his full share. He must make his labor worth the capitalist's money. He must make his labor produce all that it is paid for, and these two—the money and the labor—will compel high wages. It is all summed up in a few plain principles: The workingman must be an American; if not American

born, he must be American loyal. If born here, our public schools will take care of his common intelligence. If foreign born, he must learn our language and use it. He must read our papers in English and study our Constitution. Night schools will help him. He should read Lincoln's great inaugural and the Gettysburg address, and the utterances of other of our immortal statesmen. The public library will furnish them to him, the schoolteacher, the preacher, the rabbi, the priest will tell him about them. If he stays here, he must obey the laws which protect him. If he does not, we should send him back whence he came. It is our duty to protect our own country from all foes. Foolish sentimentalism about free speech is an insidious foe of us all, and of none more than of the workingman, who must first be a patriot. He must put his country first. The workingman's organization must be for self-improvement and not for obstructing and hindering any man. A union has no more right to keep another man out of work because he does not belong with the union than I have because he does not belong to my church. The workingman should do away with the walking delegate, and come face to face with his employer. Get rid of the salaried mischief-makers and meddlers. Every workingman should put his manhood beyond his wage. It is the surest way to become a high-priced man.

The workingman should abandon the strike whether the law commands it or not. It is uncivil-

ized and barbarous. It works against higher wages. The menace of it is figured into the cost of every contract, and that figures it out of wages. The editorial contention in a great New York paper, that the anti-strike law compels a man to do honest work against his will, is nothing more than silly. There is no sound sense in it. The proposed law does not force any man to work. It only provides against a conspiracy of workingmen to prevent work by anybody. In recent strikes in the great steel plants thousands of men believed the strike a mistake and were opposed to it, but were forced against their judgment to join the strikers of their unions.

The character of a strike is seen in destruction of property, assaults, and murders. The call for soldiers and an extra police guard tells the story. The strike stands for everything which America opposes. It is violence. It is riot. It opposes liberty. It is dangerous to life by exciting men to unrestrained and dangerous passions. It takes control of properties unlawfully and forces loss into business, forbidding construction and manufacture. It destroys credit in trade and reduces the profits from which wage is paid.

No one would object if dissatisfied men were to leave a job and go quietly away to another, leaving those satisfied to remain and work, or the employers to hire whom they please. That is every man's privilege. It is different from the conspiracy of the strike which violates every right and privilege and

should be forbidden, if any conspiracy should be unlawful.

I argue for higher wage, higher than we are now paying, if the workingman will join the employing man in furnishing the money to pay it. Such a higher wage the employer would be glad to pay, and such a wage honestly earned is the only one a laborer has a right to expect. Our American workingmen, greatest in number, found in all callings, dependable in all things, are our greatest citizens. They must never forget that they are citizens. They must not forget that the capitalists are citizens also and without them the fires would go out under the boilers and the wheels would not turn an hour. The labor agitator who assails capitalists and makes laborers their enemies is a fool among men and a traitor to the country and to the workingmen whom he betrays for demagogic purposes.

True Americans will work together for good citizenship, good business, good wages, and good fellowship.